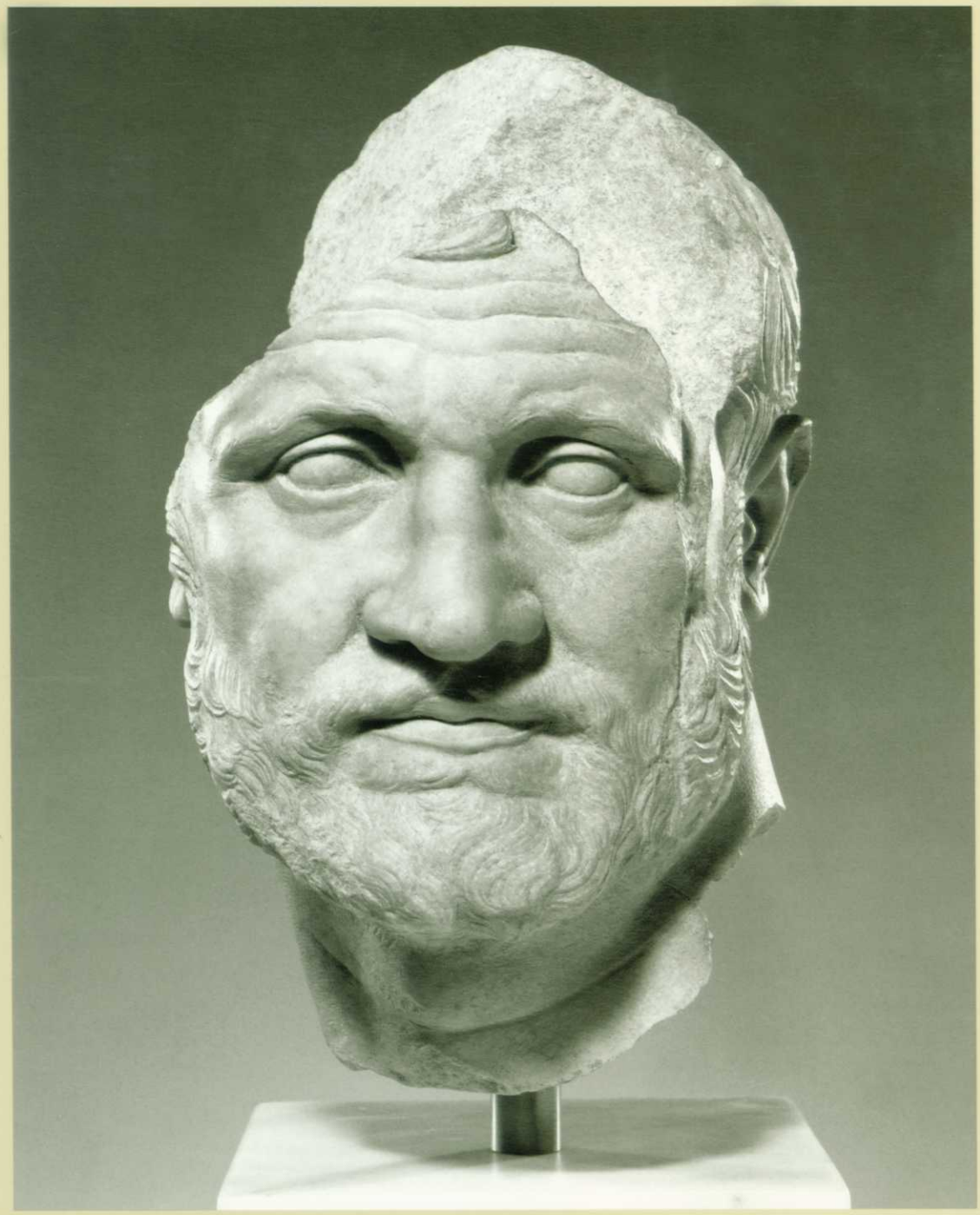
The J. Paul Getty Museum

JOURNAL Volume 21/1993



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The J. Paul Getty Museum

JOURNAL Volume 21/1993

Including Acquisitions/1992

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Introduction: The Collections and the Year's Activities

This account of the Museum's year in 1992 has to be partly secondhand, since I was away from July through December. A sabbatical at Oxford gave me a chance to read, write, and reflect on nine years at the Getty Museum. My absence seemed not to slow the Museum's pace at all: great works of art were bought, large projects advanced, and the public was treated to an exciting program of events. For most directors an absence of this length would be unthinkable. It was only possible for me because I had the generous understanding of the Getty Trust, especially its president and CEO, Harold Williams, and because I knew that the Museum's two associate directors, Deborah Gribbon and Barbara Whitney, could serve as acting directors with the greatest skill and confidence. They did.

THE COLLECTIONS

The slump in the art market that has accompanied a worldwide economic decline during the past few years persisted in 1992. There was relatively little benefit for us, however. It was largely a seller's market for the best and rarest objects in all fields, and prices for these continued to either hold their own or go up. This meant that the rate of our purchases did not recover in 1992 from the slowdown of the late 1980s, when a relatively fixed (though large) annual acquisitions budget was squeezed by ever-rising prices. Nevertheless, the results in 1992 were impressive.

THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES made several major purchases, the most important being a group of works from a single private collection in New York. These include an astonishing ensemble of Hellenistic jewelry that was almost certainly made in Ptolemaic Alexandria during the late third or early second centuries B.C. These pieces are not only among the finest ever to appear but are also entirely intact. Part of the same purchase was a bronze helmet from the Greek colonies of South Italy decorated with a marvelously expressive incised drawing of lounging satyrs. Three fine Greek and Roman bronze statuettes belonged to the group as well as three remarkable vases and a splendid Greco-Roman marble statuette that may reflect the lost Olympian Zeus by Phidias.

Our Hellenistic goldsmiths' work was made stronger by the addition of a beautiful laurel wreath of a type not previously represented in the collection. The Museum is already strong in metal vessels and now can begin to show the brilliance of Greek craftsmanship in jewelry.

Among other acquisitions of the department was a tiny bronze Roman head of Demosthenes, very like the bronzes found in the Villa dei Papiri in Herculaneum, on which the Museum's building is based. The orator is portrayed with the harsh features of a champion of a lost cause—that of the Greeks against the Macedonians.

The DEPARTMENT OF MANUSCRIPTS acquired a major manuscript, one of the most delightful Gothic examples in private hands, the so-called Bute Psalter. It is especially notable for the elegant, energetic figures and the drolleries and grotesques that embellish the margins. An initial *A* with *Three Marys at the Tomb* of about 1460–70 by the eccentric Lombard illuminator Bartolomeo Rigossi is remarkable for its lush surface of gold and yellow highlights.

We had the satisfaction of locating eighty-one long-lost text pages from a northern French Gothic antiphonal whose illuminated leaves were acquired with the Ludwig collection in 1983. The text pages have a refined beauty of their own and, when rebound with the illuminated pages, will restore the appearance of the original book.

The five purchases made for the DEPARTMENT OF PAINTINGS in 1992 included some remarkable rediscoveries. A *Venus and Adonis* by Titian, considered a workshop version of the picture painted for the King

of Spain in 1554, proved to be a well-preserved autograph work of exceptional liveliness and strength. Despite its distinguished earlier history it had hung for years high on the wall of an English house. A completely unknown early Rubens in nearly perfect condition—a scene of Samson pulling the Philistine temple down around his head—came to light and was bought in 1992. The painter, who was in his twenties, had already absorbed the lessons of the late Renaissance painters in Venice and Rome and commanded an astonishing virtuosity.

A pair of wings of a lost altarpiece by Fra Angelico provided a rare chance to add the work of this wonderfully expressive painter to the collection.

Another lost painting, which had reappeared in a London auction, is the great portrait of Pope Clement VII by Sebastiano del Piombo. Painted by the pope's court artist in about 1531, it is a somber, glowing image of worldly power.

Rubens's older contemporary in Antwerp, Jan Breughel, painted many versions of a scene in which all the creatures of the Earth are marshaled to enter Noah's ark. The best of these works of art was acquired by the Museum in 1992.

Thirty-two paintings from the collection, mostly Italian, were sold at auction in 1992, and the proceeds applied to the purchase of paintings of vastly greater importance. None of those sold were of potential use for exhibition; all had been relegated to storage in recent years, and many were too damaged to show.

The Department of Drawings made twenty-seven purchases. These included a group of German and Swiss drawings, the rarest of which was the large sheet of studies of peonies made by Martin Schongauer for his masterpiece, *The Madonna of the Rose Garden* of 1473. This is the only known watercolor study from nature by this pioneer German artist, who opened the way for the discoveries of Dürer. A brilliant pen drawing by Urs Graf of dancing peasants shows why this artist is ranked, with Dürer and Holbein, among the leading Renaissance draftsmen in the North. A Cranach study of a man becomes the only portrait drawing by the artist in America and one of the Getty Museum's most vivid likenesses.

Other Northern drawings include several superb examples by leading Mannerists. Among these are a theatrical *Crucifixion* by the émigré German Hans von Aachen; a model by Jacques de Gheyn II, the leading Dutch artist of his time, for a print that formed part of a manual of arms; and an enchanting vellum sheet with miniature scenes in gouache by Hans Bol showing the story of the ill-fated Adonis.

Another group of remarkable Italian drawings was purchased, including several previously unknown sheets connected with important commissions. Leading the list is a preparatory study by Mantegna for his altarpiece in the church of San Zeno in Verona, begun in 1476. This becomes our second study for this masterpiece. A keenly expressive chalk drawing by Bronzino of a man's hand was made in preparation for the artist's *Deposition*, which was begun in 1542. Another splendid sixteenth-century drawing, also unknown until recently, is Andrea del Sarto's chalk study of male figures at a balustrade, our fourth drawing by this great Florentine master.

An energetic compositional study by Pietro da Cortona for the Crucifixion altarpiece he painted in the early 1660s came to the Getty, one of the relatively few highly important Italian Baroque drawings to come on the market recently. Finally, among many other Italian examples is the large *Allegory of the Life of Canova* by the Neoclassical painter Felice Giani, a design for an elaborate memorial to the sculptor, who at the time of his death in 1822 was the most celebrated artist in the world.

Most acquisitions for the Department of Decorative Arts continue to serve the specific purposes of completing installations planned for the new Museum in Brentwood. There were exceptions in 1992, however. The most impressive is a tapestry from the celebrated series *Les Anciennes Indes* woven at the Gobelins factory during the reign of Louis XIV. It represents a scene in Brazil full of real and imagined inhabitants—natives, birds, fish, and animals, including a striped horse and (improbably) a rhinoceros. Fabulous in another way is the turned ivory object produced by François Barreau around 1800. The piece, which has defied our efforts to title it, must have been intended as a demonstration of dizzying virtuosity at the lathe to impress a market of privileged collectors of curiosities, some of whom turned ivory as a hobby.

Other purchases are intended for various galleries-in-the-making, particularly of the Neoclassical period, where we still have many needs. A pair of mounted Kangxi vases will complement a piece of Neoclassical furniture, as will a pair of lidded glass bowls mounted with gilt bronze of the same period; a fine and rare Neoclassical mirror will be hung nearby, as will an especially beautiful set of four gilt-bronze wall lights attributed to Philippe Caffieri.

The Department of Sculpture and Works of Art acquired a group of objects that embody the

seventeenth-century passion for decorative marble and semiprecious stones (*pietre dure*). It is the finest group of its kind in this country. Most spectacular is a great *pietre dure* tabletop, made just before the turn of the seventeenth century; there is also a startling, stone *comesso*, over life-size papal portrait; a framed German plaque in scagliola, a kind of imitation *pietre dure*; and a pair of golden alabaster vases that are unusually fine and early examples of the revival of carved stone vessels in the Renaissance.

Two sculptures testify to the grip of Roman antiquity on the imagination of Renaissance and Baroque sculptors and their patrons. A marble bust of the Emperor Commodus, carved with great finesse in the middle of the sixteenth century, was based on an antique head in the Vatican. A seventeenth-century bronze *Jupiter*, probably designed by the French sculptor Jean Raon, reflects an ancient Roman *Jupiter* that was probably known to the sculptor firsthand. A gold medal with the image of the Habsburg Emperor Rudolf II reflects not only the form of ancient Roman coins but also the ideals of imperial power for which Romans still provided the model. It was the donation of Cyril Humphris of London.

Finally, the Dutch paintings galleries now house part of a suite of a dozen chairs in ebonylike hardwood, Dutch in general form but extravagantly colonial in manufacture. Made somewhere in the Dutch East Indies, they combine decorative elements from Christian and Hindu vocabularies in a particularly exuberant way.

The acquisitions of the DEPARTMENT OF PHOTOGRAPHS concentrated on the great nineteenth-century masters. Two aspects of the river Seine are represented by photographs of the 1850s: the dynamic, changing metropolis of Paris through which the river flows in Charles Nègre's view toward the Pont Marie and the suburban paradise of the Barbizon painters as photographed by Henri-Victor Regnault. Roger Fenton's *Odalisque* of about 1858, the gift of Joseph and Elaine Monson, is similarly rooted in a Romantic tradition of painted exotic subjects.

The younger American contemporary of these Frenchmen, Carleton Watkins, is particularly well represented at the Getty. We acquired a large group of prints and stereographs, mostly of California views not yet in the collection, and another group of six Yosemite landscapes from Watkins's 1878 campaign, when he experimented with new technologies.

Panoramas of cities were a popular specialty of American photographers. We acquired two, the breathtaking seven-part view by G. R. Fardon of a sprawling, wooden San Francisco, built in a hurry and doomed to destruction by fire a half-century later in 1906, and a three-part panorama of Boston after its catastrophic fire of 1872.

Among later photographs bought in 1992, the most important is a group of fifty-three prints made close to the time of the negatives by the greatest Latin-American photographer of this century, Manuel Alvarez Bravo. The ninety-year-old artist participated in selecting and interpreting the images for a special bilingual exhibition devoted to the Museum's Bravo collection, which was installed in September 1992.

Other acquisitions included a group of Aaron Siskind photographs from the artist's estate and a number of very generous and welcome gifts from private collectors, all identified in the Photographs section of *Acquisitions/1992*.

THE YEAR'S ACTIVITIES

Like most American museums, the Getty serves a great variety of people: its least experienced visitors at one end of the spectrum, professional scholars at the other, and practically everyone in between who comes to the Museum or merely buys one of our books. This requires a great deal of work and coordination for a relatively small staff in a relatively small building, even in normal times. The times are certainly not normal in Los Angeles. The riots in South Central in April 1992 were a harsh reminder of just how far away we are, literally and figuratively, from a large part of our city and from our fellow citizens. Last year I reported on the Museum's efforts to attract a more diverse audience of local residents. The riots caused us to accelerate those efforts and to devise some new means of training young people for careers in the arts who would not otherwise enter the field. We created a program of summer internships for minority students; began a pilot program with the Santa Monica College of Art, Architecture, and Design, training ethnically diverse art students for work in arts organizations; and began to collaborate with USC's Neighborhood Academic Initiative, a program for promising junior-high students in South Central Los Angeles. Our objectives are long-term benefits both to the community and to the museum profession in the United States, in which people of color are still very poorly represented.

The Museum devoted great effort again in 1992 to attracting local visitors who would not only better

reflect the ethnic and economic makeup of the population but also would return more often. Our exhibition program helps attract repeat visitors, as does the regular series of lectures. Greater diversity in the audience is much harder to achieve. We now use the Spanish-language newspapers and television stations to carry ads and news of events, such as the manuscripts exhibition *The Passion of Christ* and the photography show *Manuel Alvarez Bravo: Recuerdo de unos años*, both of which had bilingual labels and brochures and an ambitious program for schools and Latino community groups. The Museum also regularly offers Spanish-language programs. We have been seeing a small but noticeable increase in the number of Latino visitors.

More than 420,000 visitors came to the Museum last year, close to the maximum we can comfortably handle. Ten thousand more visitors per year come now than did a decade ago. Cold and rain no longer make much difference to daily attendance, which suggests that the Getty is now perceived not as an amusement for a sunny day but as a place to go for a largely indoor experience. We have boosted attendance by using an auxiliary off-site parking arrangement on weekdays, by promoting the use of public transportation, and by distributing parking reservations more evenly across the day. And of course people are drawn by an increasingly lively program of public events, publicized by a redesigned, more colorful, and more journalistic quarterly *Calendar*.

For the first time in eight years, renovations in the galleries were few in 1992. Work went on in many other locations, however, to keep the buildings and grounds in good repair. The murals adorning the Outer Peristyle needed attention after eighteen years, and restoration at the hands of the man who originally painted them, Garth Benton, was begun. Mr. Getty's house on the hill above the Museum, which serves as our office annex, got a thorough remodeling as a result of moves made by members of the Publications staff to a central Getty Trust Publication Services group at 401 Wilshire Boulevard in Santa Monica. This was also the year that the Trust's offices moved to 401 Wilshire from Century City, a welcome event from the Museum's point of view. A project to replace ailing eucalyptus trees, generally replant the extensive hillsides behind the Museum, and improve irrigation was accomplished during the year.

Meanwhile, three miles away in Brentwood, foundations were being excavated and poured during 1992 for the new Getty Museum, part of a larger campus for the entire operation of the Getty Trust. Entire, that is, except for the Villa in Malibu, which will become a branch of the Museum after 1997 and following renovations. The Villa will also bring together other programs of the Trust in activities that either complement the Museum's or are undertaken in partnership, programs of archaeological conservation, education, and scholarship. These possibilities were given thorough study by a group of Getty Trust program directors and senior Museum staff members, with the participation of the president. A vivid example of the Villa's potential as a venue for activities that bring the ancient world to life occurred during this planning process with the production of *The Wanderings of Odysseus*. A program document was being drafted as 1992 came to a close.

This was a particularly lively year for exhibitions. The most unusual and best attended was *In the Tomb of Nefertari*, our first foray into Egyptian art. It was a collaboration between the Museum and the Getty Conservation Institute, which sponsored a project to restore the great wall paintings in the tomb of Nefertari, queen of Ramses II, and use the work as a training exercise for young conservators, especially Egyptians. Held in the large gallery where Roman sculpture is normally shown, the exhibition included a life-size photographic re-creation of one of the chambers, panels explaining the conservation process, and thirty-five objects related to the wall paintings. It was accompanied by a documentary video and a catalogue.

Exhibitions of manuscripts again exploited the variety of our collection and explored the diverse uses of the books as well as the themes embodied in the texts and pictures. *The Decorated Letter* was a reprise, a revision of an earlier show of ornamented, figurative, and historiated letters. *The Passion of Christ in Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts* was not only an interesting show but also the occasion for some unusual educational services, including the showing of *Ben Hur* and *The Last Temptation of Christ* (for which we were picketed by Christian fundamentalists), and two performances of fifteenth-century Passion plays.

Manuscripts and Americans was a tribute to our retiring Trustee Dr. Franklin Murphy, who has been a powerful stimulus to collecting manuscripts and books at the Getty as well as at UCLA, where he was chancellor. The Museum joined with UCLA and the Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities in sponsoring a symposium in October in honor of Dr. Murphy, of which our part was a session organized by the Manuscripts department on the collect-

ing of manuscripts by American libraries and museums.

The year ended with *Art and Science: Joris Hoefnagel and the Representation of Nature in the Renaissance*, which focused on the model book of calligraphy written for the Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand I by Georg Bocskay and illuminated later for Rudolf I by Joris Hoefnagel. It was the most extensive use we have yet made of printed books from the Getty Center and paintings from the Museum. It demonstrated how remarkably our various collections have begun to reinforce one another.

Exhibiting our permanent collection of drawings on a regular rotating basis becomes easier and more rewarding each year as the collection grows. Five small exhibitions of drawings were held in 1992. *Sixteenth-Century Northern European Drawings* included our great Goltzius *Venus and Mars Surprised by Vulcan*, which was chosen to coincide with concurrent Goltzius exhibitions at USC, the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, and the Philadelphia Museum of Art. *Italian Master Drawings* spanned the quattrocento through 1800. *Seventeenth-Century Dutch Drawings* was succeeded by a show of *European Landscape Drawings*, then *Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Italian Drawings*, which included new acquisitions of works by Schiavone, Veronese, and Agostino Carracci.

Photographs exhibitions at the Getty are always conceived with flair, and they have been attracting an avid audience that might not otherwise come to the Museum. The year began with *Grave Testimony: Photographs of the Civil War*, a selection of pictures that transcend their original documentary purpose. *Walker Evans: An Alabama Record* was devoted to this photographer's best-known project, his work in 1936 on a photo essay with James Agee on cotton tenant farmers for *Fortune* (later published as *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*). Our most popular show to date was *Two Lives: O'Keeffe by Stieglitz, 1917–1924*, the powerful photographs taken of Georgia O'Keeffe by her mentor and lover, Alfred Stieglitz, during their first seven years together. Our acquisition of pictures by Mexico's great photographer, mentioned earlier, was the occasion for *Manuel Alvarez Bravo: Recuerdo de unos años*. Finally, a single photograph was the subject of an exhibition that closed the year: *Silvy's "River Scene, France": The Story of a Photograph*. This atmospheric landscape, redolent of Barbizon painting, was first shown in 1858 to tremendous acclaim; the exhibition attempted to account for its fame and coincided with the publication of a monograph on the photograph.

The Getty Museum kouros was exhibited at the Goulandris Museum in Athens in May. The occasion was an international symposium on this enigmatic sculpture organized jointly by our Antiquities department and the Goulandris Museum. There were two days of scholarly papers that grappled with the problem of the authenticity of the statue from stylistic, technical, and scientific points of view. No consensus resulted, although Greek scholars were inclined to believe it a forgery, while other opinions were mixed. The proceedings have been published in 1993.

For the past four years an upstairs gallery has been used as a kind of laboratory for small didactic exhibitions. Usually staffed by docent volunteers who explain, demonstrate, and answer questions, this so-called Interactive Gallery has given us valuable experience in devising and refining techniques of providing information. The task for 1992 was giving visitors a close look at one of our greatest pieces of furniture: the large, spectacularly elaborate corner cabinet by Dubois. It was anatomized through photographs, and its techniques of manufacture were explained using samples of gilt bronze and marquetry.

We are particularly proud of the standard set by conservators at the Getty Museum. Much of the evidence can be seen in the galleries. Other work is entirely invisible to the public: measures to prevent deterioration, scientific and technical studies (often undertaken in collaboration with the Getty Conservation Institute [GCI]), teaching and consulting, and the like. For example, the Antiquities Conservation department has been consulting with conservators in Rome about measures to protect such monuments as the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius on the Capitoline from damage by earthquakes. The conservator taught a workshop on the conservation of stone on the other side of the globe in Canberra. The Department of Decorative Arts Conservation also makes contributions to the field that are beyond the call of duty. For several years a joint project with the GCI and the Los Angeles County Museum of Art has involved us in fundamental research on the materials and techniques of Renaissance bronzes. The department has pioneered the use of nitrogen in fumigation of infested wood. The conservator's consulting assignments have included reviewing the treatment of the Wallace Collection's seating furniture.

Sometimes we have the chance to focus attention on the work of our conservators. In 1992 a portrait by Giorgione from the San Diego Museum of Art, the *King Lear* by Benjamin West from the Huntington Art Gallery, and two paintings from the Gemäldegalerie in

Berlin, a Schiavone and a large panel by Carpaccio, were treated and shown to our public.

Public events of all kinds, often of new kinds, drew visitors in large numbers in 1992. I have already mentioned the films and medieval mystery plays that accompanied the exhibition of manuscripts devoted to the Passion. Even more widely publicized and heavily attended were performances of *The Wanderings of Odysseus*, a theater piece based on a new translation by Oliver Taplin of the *Odyssey*, directed by Stanford University drama professor Rush Rehm and given in partnership with the Center Theatre Group. The Inner Peristyle was ingeniously adapted to serve for both stage and seating, and food and drink were served throughout the three-and-a-half-hour performance. Rarely has a Getty event captivated the public so fully or had such ecstatic reviews.

Performances of *Sincerely Yours, Vincent*, a one-man play based on the letters of Vincent van Gogh with Bryan Rasmussen in the title role, drew large audiences in July.

The annual Summer Concert Program, now a popular fixture and always a sellout, tackled a novel theme, the music of the Americas before and after Columbus: Native American pieces, music brought by Spanish and English immigrants, music composed in the United States, and the heritage of jazz. Once again, Robert Winter, of UCLA's music department, devised an ambitious program.

Through our unusually active publications program we reach far beyond the audience that visits the Museum. We make our permanent collection useful to scholars and serious amateurs everywhere through catalogues, which we issue at a fairly steady rate. In 1992 two sections of the Antiquities collection were published: *Ancient Gems and Finger Rings*, part of our series of collection catalogues, and *A Hoard of Coins from Eastern Parthia*, copublished with the American Numismatic Society. *Vincennes and Sèvres Porcelain* is devoted to this small but impressive part of our collection of French decorative arts. *European Drawings 2* appeared in 1992, covering acquisitions made from 1986 to 1989. *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal*, volume 20, appeared in December; the changes in size and format of the *Journal* in its twenty years have mirrored the increased size and scope of the Museum's collections. *Margaret of York, Simon Marmion, and "The Visions of Tondal,"* the papers of a scholarly symposium held in collaboration with the Huntington Library in 1990, also came out in 1992.

We also publish an increasing number of books aimed at a broader audience. The most sumptuous was *Mira calligraphiae monumenta*, a facsimile of one of our star manuscripts, the calligrapher's manual made by Bocskay and Hoefnagel. It has since won many design awards and far surpassed our sales estimates. The Getty Museum Studies in Art series includes another monograph published in 1992, *Camille Silvy: "River Scene, France."* We copublished with the British Museum another of a series of laypersons' manuals, *Looking at Paintings. In the Tomb of Nefertari: The Conservation of the Wall Paintings* was copublished with the GCI to accompany the exhibition already mentioned.

We played host to a distinguished group of Guest Scholars and Guest Conservators in 1992, as we have for the past dozen years. The scholars come for periods of two to seven months both to study our collections and to work on projects of their own. The visiting conservators usually spend a few weeks in the conservation studios and labs, often working on a specific problem or technique with our own conservation staff. In 1992 the Guest Scholars were Anne Korteweg of the Royal Library in The Hague; Anna Maria Massinelli of Florence; John Reeve of the British Museum; Anna Auer of Vienna; A. C. de la Mare of King's College, University of London; Pierre Ennès of the Musée du Louvre; Danielle Rice of the Philadelphia Museum of Art; and Richard Wolbers of the University of Delaware. Our Guest Conservators were Robert Fuchs and Doris Oltrogge from the Forschungsstelle für Technik, Göttingen; Robert Futernick from the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco; Paul Mitchell from London; and Valerie Baas from the Detroit Institute of Arts. In addition, we had a group of Graduate Interns who were assigned to curatorial and other departments.

I must note the deaths of two staff members during the year. Jan Seid, a valuable and experienced member of the Security department, died in July of a stroke. David Harris Cohen, Associate Curator of Decorative Arts and a leading expert on French Neoclassical furniture and design, died from AIDS in October. The staff planted trees for both in a memorial grove we created last year on the Museum grounds.

I learned in 1992 that the remarkable people who make the Museum such a joy to visit and work in perform with utter devotion whether the director is present or not. For this I am especially grateful.

JOHN WALSH
Director

A Fifteenth-Century Illumination and the Work of Pedro de Toledo

Barbara C. Anderson

In 1985 the Getty Museum acquired a very large, lavishly gilded and illuminated initial *R*. A female figure identified as Caritas in gold Gothic letters above her head stands on a patterned floor before a walled landscape with two cypresses and distant hills. She holds a crucifix in her right hand; in her left, a gilded wafer or coin offered to a beggar (fig. 1).[1] Two lengths of cord passing from her heart tie her to the crucifix and the beggar. Also binding the main elements is a banderole floating over the group and bearing the inscription *qui me habet operit multitudinen* [sic] *peccatorum,* a reference to the significance of charity in 1 Peter 4:8: "Whoever has me will cover a multitude of sins."

The artist used a sumptuous, highly saturated palette of gold, orange-reds, blues, greens, and rose-violet for the historiation and decoration. In addition to its opulent colors, the composition is notable for the precision of its drawing and subtlety of modeling. The poignant face of Caritas, framed by a crisply draped white wimple, has finely wrought features: enormous hooded and downcast eyes, a sharp, straight nose, and a tiny, frowning mouth. Her hands, oversized like her head, and her gently swaying stance under a voluminous gold and orange-red brocade gown are graceful and refined despite their doll-like proportions. The beggar hovers near her left hand, craning his neck to look imploringly up at her, his gaunt, bearded face distinguished by a sharp nose and an overbite.

The cutting is closely related to a large body of works believed to have been executed in Spain sometime during the second quarter of the fifteenth century. In its first publication, in an auction catalogue of 1985,[2] the illumination was persuasively attributed by Christopher de Hamel to the Master of the Cypresses, a sobriquet given in 1928 by Diego Angulo Iñiguez to the illuminator responsible for more than eighty miniatures in twenty-two choir books preserved in the Cathedral of Seville (figs. 6–13 and 17), as well as a series of wall paintings in the Hieronymite monastery of San Isidoro del Campo in the neighboring Andalusian village of Santiponce (fig. 14).[3] The cutting was also linked in that catalogue entry to a group of eight historiated initials in the Rosenwald collection in the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C. (fig. 15). Their similarities to the Seville choir books had been noted ten years earlier.[4]

Since the publication of the Rosenwald catalogue in 1975, nine other related choir-book leaves or cuttings have come to light. In addition to the Getty cutting, they include: one leaf in the Art Institute of Chicago, first attributed to the Master of the Cypresses by Adelaide Bennett;[5] a leaf in the Firestone Library at Princeton University, also first attributed by Bennett (fig. 2);[6] an unpublished leaf in the Sibley Library in the Eastman School of Music at the University of Rochester, whose connection to this master's style was noted by Ranee Katzenstein (fig. 3);[7] an unpublished leaf in a private collection in New York (fig. 4);[8] and four other cuttings. Two of these were recognized by Sandra Hindman as the work of this illuminator and were formerly in the collection of Ethel Horsfeld in London; one recently appeared on the London market,[9] the other is now in a private collection in Paris.[10] The third was recently acquired by Sam Fogg of London.[11] The fourth is a cutting recently acquired by Bernard Breslauer (fig. 5).[12] As many as six other leaves, last known in 1912 when they were listed among the same group for sale in the catalogue of London book dealer James Tregaskis, as well as one more leaf, also sold by this dealer but last recorded in 1916 in the Art Institute of Chicago, were probably from the same volume, or volumes, as those now in Malibu, Chicago, Princeton, Rochester, New York, and the London art market.[13]

The similarities among the leaves and cuttings, and their relationship to the other works attributed to the Master of the Cypresses, have been observed. In

FIGURE 1 Attributed to Pedro de Toledo (active 1434). *Initial "R" with Caritas and a Beggar,* recto. Seville, after 1434. Cutting from a gradual, 36 x 31.5 cm (14 3/16 x 12 7/16 in.). J. Paul Getty Museum Ms. 15; 85.MS.211.

FIGURE 2 Attributed to Pedro de Toledo and workshop. *Initial "E" with King David Seated.* Seville, after 1434. Leaf from a gradual. Princeton University, Firestone Library, Garrett Ms. 44.

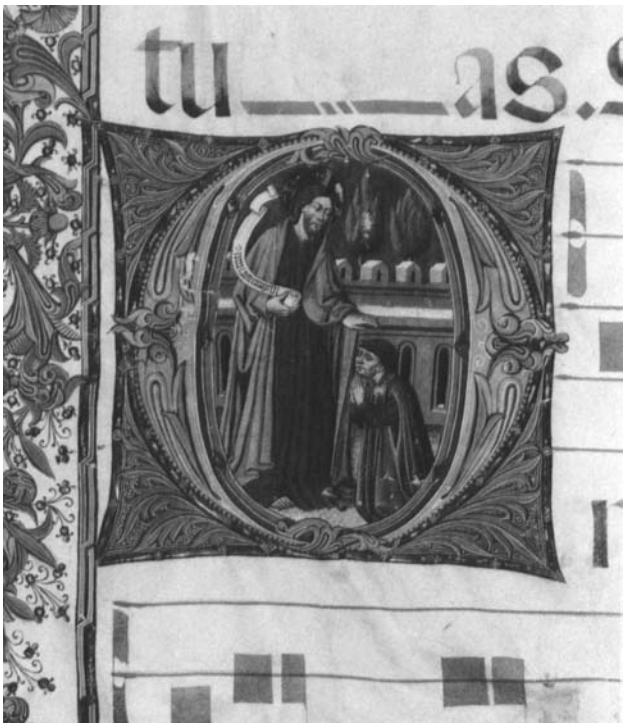

FIGURE 3 Attributed to Pedro de Toledo and workshop. *Initial "O" with Christ Blessing a Kneeling Man.* Seville, after 1434. Leaf from a gradual. Eastman School of Music, University of Rochester, Ms. 11.

addition to the cypress trees, checkered floors, and low, walled enclosures present in many examples, this master's style is typified in the Getty Museum cutting, with its high-keyed palette and grave, frowning figures with heavy-lidded eyes, who stand or crouch, often in a grassy landscape but occasionally before a town or in a domestic interior. The main subjects typically wear heavy and resplendent garments sometimes trimmed with ermine or gold. These figures, like Caritas in the Getty Museum cutting, are often identified by names above their heads and occasionally bear scrolls or banderoles with biblical inscriptions in Gothic lettering. The scene will frequently incorporate a calligraphic element, such as the bar of an *A*, of the enclosing initial. Most of the scenes are biblical, but a few depict monks hearing confession or celebrating mass.

Added to this body of closely related choir-book illuminations and a mural cycle is a final example of the master's known work, consisting of the sixty-five wash drawings in a vernacular Old Testament in the Biblioteca Real at El Escorial (I-j-3; fig. 16). This Castilian Bible has been published, primarily because of its importance as a translation into Spanish from the Hebrew rather than the Latin.[14] One year after the publication of his article on the Master of the Cypresses in 1928, Angulo Iñiguez followed that study with another, which, on the basis of style, linked the illuminations in the Seville choir books with the workshop responsible for the majority of those in this Bible in the Escorial.[15] Subsequent discussions of the other illuminations have not made reference to this Bible, although one or two published discussions of the Bible have acknowledged the stylistic connection with the Seville choir books.[16]

In his short article introducing the illuminations in the Escorial Bible into the art-historical literature, Angulo noted the similarities to the Seville choir books, listing forty-eight Old Testament narrative scenes that he believed were in the style of the Master of the Cypresses.[17] He was not interested in distinguishing possible workshop hands or postulating a sequence for the known works, or in placing the corpus within the broader context of the International Gothic. Because his work on the Escorial Bible was forgotten, little more of substance has been added to

FIGURE 4 Attributed to Pedro de Toledo and workshop. *Initial "O" with Saint Paul.* Seville, after 1434. Leaf from a gradual. New York, private collection.

FIGURE 5 Attributed to Pedro de Toledo and workshop. *Initial "I" with the Creation of the Firmament.* Seville, after 1434. Leaf from a gradual. New York, Bernard Breslauer.

the literature, even after sixty years and the discovery of many other works produced by the master or his workshop. Angulo himself made no reference to the Bible in his most recent discussion, in 1984, of the choir books.[18]

Although the attributions made to this workshop so far are perfectly convincing, the nature of the master's oeuvre remains undefined. The sheer number of images that can be attributed to him or his immediate workshop is impressive—more than 250—and constitutes the largest surviving body of work by an illuminator and workshop in Spain. His range of styles and techniques, including wall paintings, illuminations, and colored wash drawings, also makes this artist one of the most versatile in Spain before the sixteenth century, and one of the only artists in this early period in Spain whose artistic development can be traced.

A thorough understanding of his work awaits a full-length study based upon close scrutiny of the Escorial Bible and the extant Seville choir books, especially their codicology, and the different hands within the workshop.[19] Nevertheless, we can now identify a body of surviving work by the master, the broad outlines of his development, and his place within the context of European illumination in the first half of the fifteenth century. In the following pages I will propose that the corpus associated with the master and his shop may be logically subdivided into four groups, which fall into a rough chronological sequence: (1) the San Isidoro frescoes; (2) the twenty-two Seville choir books described by Angulo in 1928 and the seven surviving leaves or cuttings now in the Getty Museum, the Art Institute of Chicago, the University of Rochester, Princeton University, the private collection in New York, the collection of the dealer Sam Fogg in London, and the cutting recently purchased by Bernard Breslauer; (3) the eight historiated initial cuttings in the Rosenwald collection in the National Gallery, and the two ex-Horsfeld cuttings;[20] and (4) Bible I-j-3 in the library of El Escorial.

THE SEVILLE CHOIR BOOKS AND THE FRESCOES OF SAN ISIDORO, SANTIPONCE

The Getty Museum's cutting is stylistically closest to the Seville choir books and the detached leaves or cuttings in New York, Chicago, Rochester, Princeton, the London art market, and the Breslauer collection. The leaves and cuttings (figs. 1–5) share with the bound volumes in Spain not only the style of their miniatures, initials, and borders, but also the dimensions and relative proportions of their miniatures and leaves,[21] which have been cut to between 88 and 97 cm (34 5/8 and 38 3/16 in.) in height, and the space between rulings making up each of the four five-line staves on each folio side.[22]

The liturgical library of the Cathedral of Seville contains over two hundred volumes, of which 106 have illuminations and were made between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries. They have never been properly catalogued, but it is evident that their physical integrity has been greatly compromised in various ways. The twenty-two surviving choir books by this workshop have been so radically altered since their creation that their original state is impossible to reconstruct, but it is possible to determine much of their original content.[23]

The first problem is the numbering system, which intersperses books from this workshop with volumes dating from the late fifteenth through the nineteenth century. Claudio Boutelou supposed that the numbering had been done in the eighteenth century according to liturgical use, but in fact it has no such rationale.[24] Book 44, for example, covers Easter. Book 81 covers the first through fifth Sundays after Easter (and possibly the sixth and seventh Sundays as well); its miniatures were noted without description by Boutelou and Fernández in 1884 but were subsequently lost.[25] Book 78 follows Book 44 in liturgical sequence, with the sung parts of the masses from Ascension to Pentecost; it also contained illuminations noted by Boutelou and Fernández but later lost.[26]

Even more puzzling is the splitting up of cycles of masses within a single gradual, such as Book 60, which contains masses from the fourth Sunday of Advent through the third Christmas mass, and the masses for Epiphany and its octave. The masses in between are found in Books 48 and 30, and the latter also includes the first Sunday after the octave of Epiphany through Quinquagesima.

Although most of the liturgical year is represented, many individual masses and whole sequences are missing from the twenty-two choir books from this workshop. Within the twenty-two existing books from this workshop, introits to approximately forty-three masses do not seem to be accompanied by an illuminated initial. Some of these are interspersed throughout the cycle, but there are two large gaps: one where the twenty-three masses between the third Sunday in Quadragesima and Easter Sunday would fall, and the second representing the six between the eighteenth through the twenty-third Sunday after Pentecost. So many consecutive introits are accompanied by illuminated initials, it seems likely that all were intended to be treated in this manner.

From Ember Wednesday, or Feria IV of Quadragesima, through Maunday Thursday, there are only two remaining illuminations, in two separate volumes (Books 34 and 75). In addition, many volumes are missing one or more initials corresponding to specific masses. Still others contain original miniatures by this master and workshop but also have detached initials (even sometimes from the same workshop), pasted over existing folios. Book 45, for example, has eight illuminations in what is a conventional sequence of masses for the thirteenth through the Saturday before the eighteenth Sunday after Pentecost, but the folio bearing the introit for the seventeenth Sunday has an *Initial "M" with Saint Peter* pasted onto the introit beginning "Justus es domine" that should open with an initial *I*. Further complicating the issue is the large number of folios with scraped text or musical notations.

Miniatures in the choir books were evidently cut out and replaced routinely as changes in the liturgy dictated,[27] for example, in the aftermath of the Council of Trent and because of reforms in the mid-nineteenth century. Like other works of art owned by the Church, miniatures could be sold to raise funds in difficult times.[28] A close comparison of the various published discussions since the nineteenth century makes clear that there were many more volumes with work by the Cypresses workshop than there are today: perhaps as many as forty when Passavant mentioned them in 1853, and at least thirty-five when Boutelou and Fernández first described them in some detail in 1884. Even then, however, scholars observed the substitution of illuminations.[29] By 1928, when Angulo identified the Master of the Cypresses, there were only twenty-two volumes containing illuminations from this workshop. Because of the alterations, Angulo exercised extreme caution in discussing the series, dividing the miniatures into groups by Old or New Testament subject,[30] describing, among other subjects,

the depictions of Old and New Testament figures such as King David, who appears more than any other Old Testament figure.[31]

It is highly tempting to think of the Getty, Fogg, and Breslauer cuttings and the detached leaves in Chicago, Princeton, Rochester, and New York as having been part of the Seville series. The similarities among them, and the absence of other sets surviving in Spain and exhibiting the same palette, treatment of figures, compositional details, initials, and foliate borders, make it unlikely that there was another set so closely resembling the one in Seville. If there were, it would still have been made around the same time and would therefore form part of this early group. As we shall see, all but two of these cuttings and leaves, and even some of the missing ones known only through brief descriptions, can plausibly be inserted into the textual gaps left in the surviving Seville set.

We know that the two leaves now in the Art Institute of Chicago and the Princeton library, as well as four others also formerly in the C. L. Ricketts collection in Chicago,[32] were on the London market by no later than 1912. The leaf in the University of Rochester was purchased there in 1929 and so could have been part of the Tregaskis material. Links in provenance between these and the Getty leaf have not been established, but the latter was acquired by Durrieu before his death in 1925. In any event, it is not possible to correlate these leaves with any described by Passavant or Boutelou, so the date of their removal could be earlier than the mid-nineteenth century.

Bennett has suggested that five detached leaves now in American collections may be identified with introits for five Sundays after Pentecost: New York ("Omnes gentes"), the seventh; Princeton ("Ecce deus"), the ninth; Malibu, with no text, either the third or thirteenth, because both are introits starting with the letter *R*; Chicago ("Da pacem"), the eighteenth; and Rochester ("Omnia que fecisti"), the twentieth.[33] Hers is an entirely plausible sequence, and indeed, all but the New York, Fogg, and Malibu examples actually fit into current lacunae within the existing Pentecost cycle (Books 78, 77, 72, 58, and 45, in that liturgical order) in the Seville series, as does the Breslauer leaf, which is for the twenty-first Sunday. The Princeton leaf would have come from Book 58, while the Chicago, Rochester, and Breslauer leaves probably came from another completely dismantled volume, from which illuminations for two more Sundays (the nineteenth and twenty-third) have yet to resurface. Still extant in the Seville books pertaining to these Sundays are an illumination beginning the introit for the seventh Sunday after Pentecost (although photographs indicate considerable scraping of the text and notes),[34] as well as the *R* initials beginning introits for Ember Wednesday and the third and thirteenth Sundays after Pentecost. The missing Tregaskis leaf (number 825), an initial *E,* could have been used for one of the two preceding feasts, the second or third Rogation, both of whose introits begin with an *E* and are missing from the volume.

The Getty and Fogg cuttings are even more difficult to situate within the existing Seville series. Not only does the Getty cutting not fit into the extant Pentecost cycle, where the three introits beginning with *R* are extant in the cathedral set, but it cannot be inserted at any point in the cycle or the temporale where this initial begins an introit, because all such original initials are still in place (although many, including the Getty cutting, exhibit scraped and repainted text or musical notations and may have been rearranged). On the other hand, whole books seem to be missing from Seville, and apparently no contemporaneous antiphonals or books devoted to votive or other specialized masses survive from the Seville series from this workshop, although where no text is visible in reproductions, a definitive identification cannot be made for one or two volumes.

Of the various categories of books not necessarily missing but definitely tampered with, those dedicated to the Common of Saints seem the most frequent victims of such rearrangement. Book 4, a volume with a spectacular Assumption from this workshop, has pasted onto folio 20v a beautiful *Virgin and Child,* undoubtedly from the same workshop (and probably by the hand of the master), but also a much later *Resurrection.* The same seems to be true for Saint James, or Santiago, the patron saint of Spain whose feast is celebrated in July but whose illumination was moved at some point to Book 48, which contains the post-Christmas masses. He appears on folio 22, with the introit "Mihi autem." Saint Lawrence, too, has been moved, in this case to Book 91, as Boutelou observed,[35] and it is not inconceivable that he was originally in the altered Book 4, since his feast is celebrated in August, like that of the Assumption. He and the other Saints who now are placed out of context could also have been made for antiphonals. Although none survives intact, an entry in the first cathedral account book, dated 1434, mentions illuminations for office books, including Saint Lawrence.[36] Numbers of initials would seem to support this. There are at least

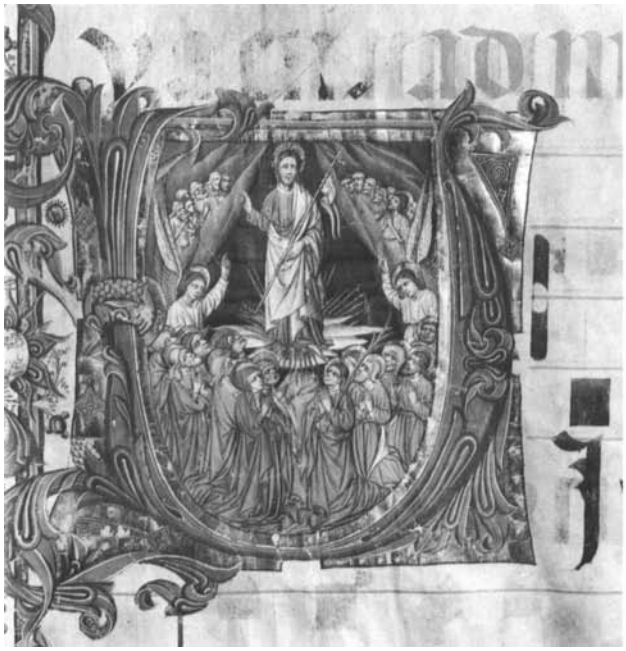

FIGURE 6 Attributed to Pedro de Toledo. *Initial "U" with the Ascension.* Seville, after 1434. Book 78, fol. 2; Seville, Cathedral. Photo: Arxiu Mas, Barcelona.

FIGURE 7 Attributed to Pedro de Toledo. *Initial "E" with King David.* Seville, after 1434. Book 44, fol. 43; Seville, Cathedral. Photo: Arxiu Mas, Barcelona.

eighty extant initials in the Seville series, and forty-three missing, including, perhaps, most of the detached Pentecost leaves in American collections. If the original series did consist of all illuminated introits, then this would already total at least three more illuminations than the 121 mass introits in the liturgical year. In addition, of the forty-three initials missing, most come from two large lacunae of twenty-three and six introits, indicating the dismembering of a number of whole volumes, as well as the scissoring-out of isolated examples in existing volumes. The Seville books with the largest number of remaining illuminations are Book 66 with twelve and Book 29 with ten. It would stand to reason, then, that only an additional three or four volumes at most would have been needed to complete the mass cycle, for a total of twenty-five, more or less. But we know that there were as many as thirty-five to forty of these volumes until at least the mid-nineteenth century. Thus, there would seem to have been other liturgical books besides graduals. In any event, the original location of the Getty *Caritas* cannot be postulated at this time, but because of its stylistic proximity to the Seville books, it seems logical to discuss it within their context.

Within the Seville choir books and related detached leaves at least three hands are discernible in the historiated initials and two others in the foliate borders. Although a systematic sorting of hands is beyond the scope of this study, it may be useful to suggest some broad categories. The corpus is remarkably homogenous in palette, figural style, and initial and border type. Differences are apparent mainly in terms of the inferior quality of drawing, in which a clumsy attempt at faithful emulation of the master's model seems the intention, rather than the development of an individual style.[37]

The hand of the master seems evident in all of the most complex compositions and is characterized by its sureness of line and subtle modeling, especially in the depictions of dramatic moments such as *The Assumption of the Virgin,*[38] *The Resurrection,*[39] *Christ Healing a Paralytic* (fig. 12), and *The Ascension* (fig. 6). In addition, his hand may be detected in imaginative compositions that interweave figures and initial forms, for example, the *Initial "E" with King David* (fig. 7), as well as many others among the more than eighty still in the choir books.

A broad range of facial types makes up his repertory of male figures: the long-faced, elderly male with sharp aquiline nose and jutting lower lip, as in the figure of Saint Paul (fig. 8), very close in handling to the beggar in the Getty Museum cutting; a more simian face with low, overhanging brow and bulging upper lip (fig. 9);[40] the youthfully round, clean-shaven

FIGURE 8 Attributed to Pedro de Toledo. *Initial "S" with Saint Paul.* Seville, after 1434. Book 58, fol. 17v; Seville, Cathedral. Photo: Arxiu Mas, Barcelona.

FIGURE 9 Attributed to Pedro de Toledo. *Initial "A" with Old Testament King.* Seville, after 1434. Book 45, fol. 22; Seville, Cathedral. Photo: Arxiu Mas, Barcelona.

FIGURE 10 Attributed to Pedro de Toledo. *Initial "R" with Daniel in the Lion's Den.* Seville, after 1434. Book 66, fol. 14; Seville, Cathedral. Photo: Arxiu Mas, Barcelona.

FIGURE 11 Attributed to Pedro de Toledo. *Initial "I" with Christ Blessing.* Seville, after 1434. Book 45, fol. 15v; Seville, Cathedral. Photo: Arxiu Mas, Barcelona.

FIGURE 12 Attributed to Pedro de Toledo. *Initial "U" with Christ Healing a Paralytic.* Seville, after 1434. Book 45, fol. 48; Seville, Cathedral. Photo: Arxiu Mas, Barcelona.

FIGURE 13 Attributed to Pedro de Toledo. *Initial "L" with Christ and the Magdalene.* Seville, after 1434. Book 45, fol. 45; Seville, Cathedral. Photo Arxiu Mas, Barcelona.

faces of monks, recipients of Christ's acts of charity; King David (fig. 7), whose squinting eyes betray incipient crow's feet; and Daniel (fig. 10). Only Christ is occasionally depicted frontally, with an elongated face and features compressed toward the center, rather as if one side has been reproduced in a mirror image (fig. 11).

Females are infrequently depicted. The surviving examples number only eight and are divided into two general types: the weary and homely face, as in Caritas in the Getty cutting (fig. 1) and the kneeling woman in *Christ Healing a Paralytic* (fig. 12); and the delicately beautiful and youthful face depicted in the Magdalene (fig. 13) and the three surviving images of the young Virgin in *The Assumption of the Virgin* (Book 4, fol. 26v), *The Nativity* (Book 60, fol. 21v), and *The Adoration of the Magi* (Book 60, fol. 37).[41] Large group compositions, such as *The Ascension* (fig. 6), include both of these female and still other male facial types.

The Getty Museum cutting is a superb example of the style of the Master of the Cypresses as it developed in the Seville choir books, but it also has a number of qualities unique among the surviving illuminations. Its portrayal of Caritas is the only allegorical representation by the master,[42] and his only depiction of a nonbiblical female; indeed, Caritas is the only female to be the primary subject of any of his miniatures. It is therefore perhaps fitting that she is the only figure in the entire series to be clothed in gold brocade, although in 1888 Boutelou and Fernández mentioned a now-lost Book 50 that contained a depiction of the Virgin and Saint Elizabeth with gold in the costumes.[43] That neither survives in the extant volumes may have something to do with their splendor and desirability as separate images.

The choir books are closely related to the nearby Santiponce mural cycle, which has suffered extensive damage.[44] Today it consists of a large *Last Supper* in the refectory (fig. 14) and a series in the Cloister of the Evangelists, including one of an enthroned Saint Jerome dictating to his monks, and ten individual standing figures: Saint Stephen, Saint Lawrence, Saint Sebastian, Saint Catherine, Saint Fabian, Saint Paula, a pope, and three bishops. Housed in the Archeological Museum in Seville are two additional fragments: a standing Saint Matthew and the head and shoulders of a female saint. The miniatures are most easily compared to the Santiponce *Last Supper,* which is in good condition and in which poses and facial types, expres-

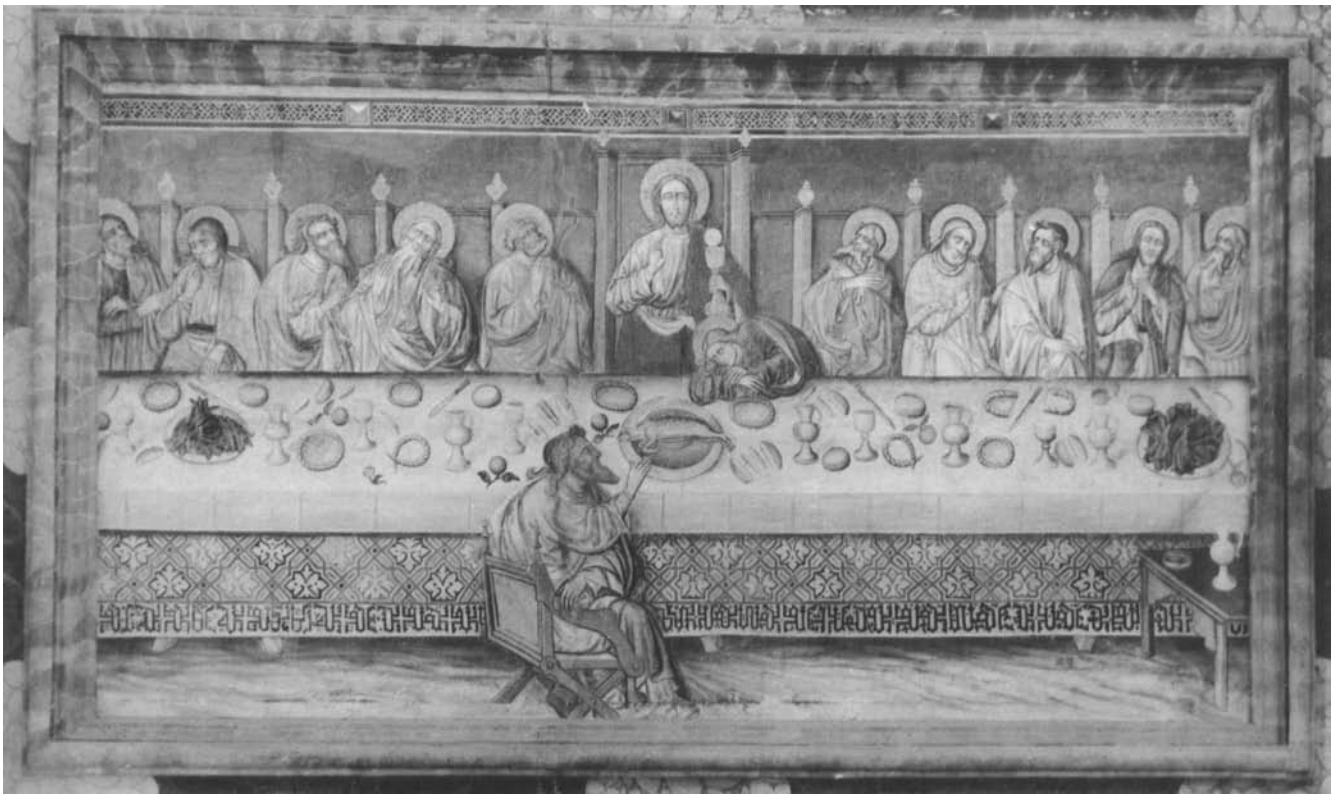

FIGURE 14 Attributed to Pedro de Toledo. *The Last Supper.* Refectory fresco, ca. 1431–36. Santiponce, San Isidoro del Campo. Photo: Arxiu Mas, Barcelona.

sions, and softly modeled planes, as well as the meticulous rendering of voluminous garments, wispy hair, and beards, are the same as their counterparts in the choir books (see especially figs. 6, 11, and 13). A common attribution has been accepted since Boutelou proposed it in 1906,[45] and there seems no reason to question it.

A relative dating of these two projects may be postulated based upon good, if not hard or abundant, evidence. The only date linked to the choir books is a reference in the account book, or *libro de fábrica,* mentioned above and documenting the construction of a new cathedral building.[46] In the earliest surviving volume, dated 1434, is an entry describing payment to a "Pedro de Toledo" for illuminating office books.[47] The definitive connection between this reference and the existing choir books has never been established, but the choir books are certainly consistent stylistically with a date of around 1434, embodying the aristocratic magnificence of the International Gothic as it manifested itself in Spain, including the often squat proportions of the figures, which distinguish the Spanish version of the style from the more elegant, attenuated figures of the French or Italian version.[48] In addition, several of the subjects mentioned in the account books are depicted in the surviving choir books and are discussed at greater length below.

As previous scholars have maintained, the wall paintings in Santiponce must have been executed between 1431 and 1436.[49] In 1431 the complex, which had been founded in 1301 under the patronage of Alonso Pérez de Guzmán as a Cistercian monastery, was given over to the order of the Congregation of the Observance of Saint Jerome. The whole cycle was executed under the patronage of Alonso's descendant, Enrique de Guzmán, Count of Niebla, whose escutcheon appears near the image of Saint Jerome and who died in 1436.

There are several indications that the wall paintings were finished closer to 1431 than to 1436. First, the installation in 1431 of the Hieronymite order in the monastery would logically have prompted an immediate change in iconography. A wall cycle of this scope and size, if begun in 1431 or 1432, could easily have been completed in two years or less, that is, before 1434, at which time the illuminations are thought to have begun. That the account-book reference in 1434 is an indication of the beginning of the commission,

rather than the middle or end, seems plausible, though obviously not definitive, given that it is the only such recorded reference to illuminations before the 1450s. It also appears to coincide with the beginning of the cathedral's new construction campaign, because there are no entries prior to 1434.[50]

The second type of evidence for the earlier date is stylistic. The choir books, although undoubtedly executed in the same workshop and exhibiting ample evidence of the guiding hand of a master, seem to demonstrate an advancing naturalism in all but three of their surviving miniatures. The figures at San Isidoro are generally stiff in pose, and the single standing figures are set into a shallow space before a damasked wall. Only three miniatures in the choir books are comparable, with rigid, occasionally frontal figures encased in simple, tubular drapery, standing before such shallow, two-dimensional brocaded or foliate patterned backdrops (fig. 11).[51] The remainder of the miniatures in the choir books, in contrast, show more energetic figures, with drapery in motion. They fit comfortably into a more spacious interior or a landscape setting, despite the constraints of the initial format and the much smaller scale of the miniatures.

FIGURE 15 Attributed to Pedro de Toledo. *Initial "S" with King David as a Scribe.* Spain, later 1440s. Cutting from an antiphonal. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Rosenwald Collection B-23,758 (1964.8.1218).

THE ROSENWALD INITIALS

The Rosenwald initials have been dated to the 1430s on the basis of their close connection to the frescoes and choir books but without taking into account the detached leaves of the Escorial Bible.[52] To this author, the Rosenwald leaves seem to occupy a place stylistically midway between the two. If the reference to 1434 in the *libro de fábrica* does reflect the early stages of the campaign, the specific mention of three books would suggest that at least that number could be completed in a year. The twenty-two volumes contain approximately eighty illuminations, and there are only twelve in Book 66, the largest number in any one extant volume, so it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that many more could have been made in a year. But even at the slow pace of only three volumes per year, as many as forty choir books could easily have been created in thirteen years, or by the middle to late 1440s, by which time the artist could indeed have begun another choir-book project.

These ten Rosenwald initials with individual Old Testament figures (mainly King David, but also a prophet and a scene of monks before an altar) form a stylistic group as coherent as that defined by the Seville choir books. Bennett believes that they are from an antiphonal rather than a gradual,[53] but their versos cannot be read because the cuttings are posted onto mat board. Exhibiting the same facial characteristics, figural proportions, and attitudes, as well as similar costumes and settings, the initials are undoubtedly by the Master of the Cypresses and his workshop. At the same time, however, there are telling differences in the composition, vocabulary, and style that point to a separate and somewhat later date than the commission of the Seville choir books. These differences seem more satisfactorily explained by an evolution in personal style than by the variations attributable to workshop hands. This stylistic evolution is not so great that it could not reasonably have followed soon after the completion of the Seville commission, by sometime in the 1440s at the latest. The progressive monumentality and naturalism demonstrated in these cuttings would not be out of place in that decade in Spain, where the more decorative concerns of the International Gothic were being discarded by such contemporaries as Bernat Martorell.[54]

One change may be seen in the initials, which are set into wide scalloped borders of gold leaf (fig. 15). The initial forms have been simplified in contour and they employ a new decorative vocabulary. Instead of subtly modeled, predominantly foliate and

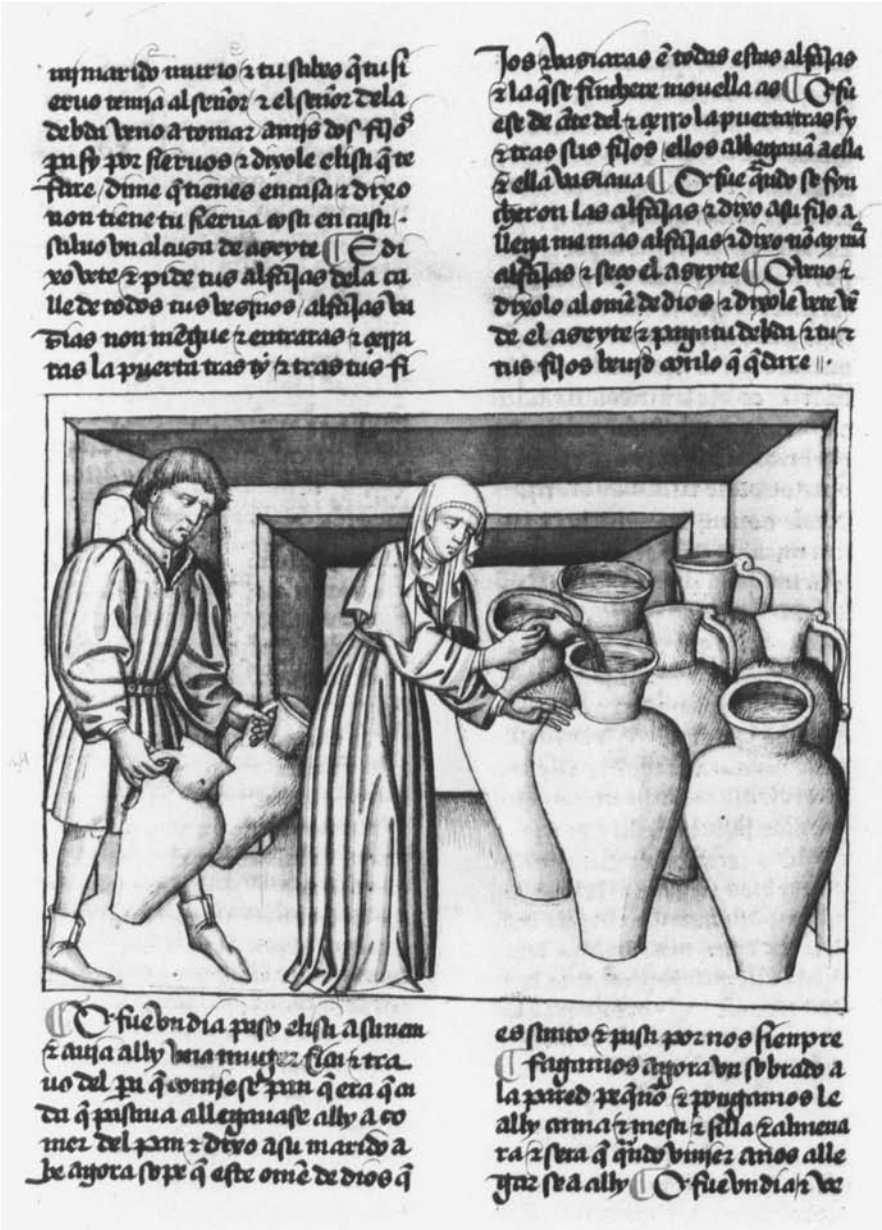

FIGURE 16 Attributed to Pedro de Toledo. *The Widow Zarephath Filling Vessels with Oil.* Spain, mid-fifteenth century. Bible I-j-3, fol. 212v; Biblioteca Real de San Lorenzo de El Escorial. Photo: Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid.

rinceaux forms, the Rosenwald initial forms tend to be composed of entwined animal or grotesque human heads with gaping jaws, or balusters, or a very crude, flattened version of the Seville foliate patterning. Where parts of the initial might be used as a prop in the Seville choir books (figs. 7–10), they are actually turned into elements of the figural scene in the Rosenwald cuttings, for example the seated King David and Old Testament prophet, who both use desktops formed from the horizontal section of an *S* and an *H* (fig. 15).

Inside the initial frames, the more vigorously drawn and modeled figures fill their space, actually becoming a part of it rather than being set in front of it. What in the Seville choir books are infrequent and very tentative invasions of the framing initials by hands or feet become in the Rosenwald cuttings more aggressive attempts at escape from or domination over the frame. In several cuttings, the robust, straining

FIGURE 17 Attributed to Pedro de Toledo. *Initial "O" with the Marriage at Cana.* Seville, after 1434. Book, fol. 56; Seville, Cathedral. Photo: Arxiu Mas, Barcelona.

figures are so cramped they seem to bend under the weight of the initial and be compressed into the shape of the letter (fig. 17). The style of the initials and the details such as furniture, passementerie, and drapery, as well as the highly saturated palette, darker in overall tonality than that used for the Seville books, link the ex-Horsfeld and Rosenwald initials and distinguish them from the Seville choir books. Figures in the ex-Horsfeld initials are less animated and less tightly constrained by their setting than those in the Rosenwald examples, possibly reflecting a slightly earlier phase in the campaign, one that provides a connection with the Seville figures and their relationship to the space within their initials.

Quality varies greatly within this group of cuttings, and a strong example by the master is the *Initial "S" with King David as a Scribe* (fig. 15). Another, considerably less accomplished hand may be seen in Rosenwald B-23,768, *Initial "C" with David or Saul,* and the two ex-Horsfeld cuttings. Unlike the differences in quality of the drawing in the Seville illuminations, color is the main area of awkwardness in these cuttings. The use of cloyingly sweet blues and greens, and what appears to be a mistake in the application of color in the area around the cheek in the Rosenwald cutting, strongly indicate the presence of a second artist who incorrectly painted over the master's drawing. In the *Initial "D" with King David* (B-23,770), the gold ground runs into the rinceaux and has been applied over it without a black contour. In the same miniature, the drapery has been divided horizontally with a shade of red that does not appear elsewhere (even in this composition) and bears no relation to the drawing. While the quality of the drawing in the historiated Rosenwald initials is uniformly high, that in the ornamental initials in this group (B-23,760–64), as well as the initial forms in historiated examples 765 and 767, are extremely crude.

BIBLE I-J-3 IN THE ROYAL LIBRARY IN EL ESCORIAL

The illuminations in Escorial Bible I-j-3 incorporate all the qualities of the previous stages and introduce new ones. As Angulo observed, those on folio 1 and on folios 211 to 527v are closest in handling to the Seville choir books.[55] Folio 1 contains the only foliate border and historiated initial in the Bible; an *Initial "A" with the Creation of Adam and Eve* is in the same bright palette found in the choir books. In contrast, the miniatures in the rest of the volume are narrative scenes, executed mostly on paper in the same drawing style but tinted with washes of yellow, red-violet, green, and gray. Such a palette is consistent with the choir books and detached leaves, only the colors have been diluted. Gilding is employed on haloes, sword girdles, and the sunburst pattern on a shield in a scene of *The Taking of Jericho* on folio 127. Silver leaf is used

in this scene, as elsewhere, for lance tips. The red and yellow brocade of a soldier's garment on folio 127 is comparable to that of the gown worn by the Getty Caritas, except that in the former, yellow pigment was substituted for gold. No matter how sparing the use of gold and silver leaf, its presence strongly suggests that the wash was an intentional and finished technique, as it was in many historiated Bibles, including the so-called Alba Bible (completed in Toledo in 1430), in which gilding was also applied frugally.[56]

Groups of figures with the familiar faces of this master are combined in each of the scenes, striking a wide variety of poses in landscapes (often with cypresses in the distance), cityscapes, or domestic interiors. Compositions are of two types: those following folio 211 are smaller in size, with fewer figures and less complexity than their counterparts between folios 2 and 211, which are large in relation to the page and more ambitious, with multitudes of figures and objects within more generous, but sometimes still cramped, spaces. Although some compositional elements are paraphrased from the Seville cycle (compare figs. 16 and 17), the figures, in scenes of greater emotional intensity, now interact through a broad spectrum of expressions and gestures in more closely observed and detailed contemporary interior and exterior settings. Costumes are simpler, with fabrics falling in more naturalistic and varied folds; beards are no longer parted (as they had been in the earlier fashion); volumes are expressed more three-dimensionally, with gradations of shading; and decorative patterning is reduced to a minimum. A sense of human drama and spectacle new to this workshop characterizes this ambitious enterprise.

Between folios 2 and 45 is a series of miniatures with hardened features, washed carelessly with a jarring palette of harsh violet, cherry red, yellow-green, orange, and ocher, and with no gilding. One, *The Burning of Babylon* (fol. 11v), has no color. Angulo did not include these in his study because he believed them to be the work of a later follower.[57] There is undoubtedly a different sensibility at work in these illuminations. However, direct examination of this manuscript and the related oeuvre, which Angulo did not know in its entirety (especially the Rosenwald initials), strongly suggests that the difference in sensibility is due to the presence of another hand, which must have been responsible for the inferior, imitative color and perhaps for an unfortunate thickening of line in many areas. This second artist was not responsible for the drawing, which in most areas still reveals the deft hand of the master. The distinct separation of artistic activities would tend to reinforce the suggestion offered above that some of the detached initials assigned here to the later 1430s or 1440s were drawn by the master but illuminated by others in the shop. The palette and reinforced line of these Escorial miniatures are so clumsy, however, that it is tempting to speculate that the master died or else absented himself entirely from further participation in the project.

THE MASTER OF THE CYPRESSES

The identity of the Master of the Cypresses has yet to be established with certainty. As we have seen, in 1899 José Gestoso y Pérez published a reference to an entry in the *libro de fábrica* in the archive of the Cathedral of Seville describing payments made in 1434 to one Pedro de Toledo for illuminating office books for the cathedral. The office books mentioned were dedicated to the Transfiguration, Saint Lawrence, and the Assumption of the Virgin (the latter also containing feasts of and hymns to the Virgin of the Snows and Saint Gabriel).[58] Most scholars since Angulo have agreed that the Master of the Cypresses was probably Pedro de Toledo, who would also have painted the murals at San Isidoro in the same decade.

The evidence is abundant and convincing, although entirely circumstantial: the illuminations are stylistically consistent with a date around 1434, and Gestoso mentions no other references in the *libro de fábrica* to illuminations paid for in the second quarter of the fifteenth century; also, surviving choir books contain illuminations of some of the subjects mentioned in the account book (fig. 6). One in particular, *The Assumption of the Virgin* in Book 4, fol. 26, is large and splendid.[59]

Another, admittedly more tangential bit of evidence supporting a Toledan origin is the strong possibility that the Escorial Bible I-j-3, as a Castilian translation from the Hebrew, may well have been executed in Toledo. Toledo was the primary center of Jewish learning in fifteenth-century Spain before the expulsion of the Jews in 1492, and it was the home of the scriptorium in which one of the best-known surviving Bibles was transcribed and richly illuminated, probably in the 1420s. The Alba Bible, so called because it later entered the collection of the Dukes of Alba, was produced in Toledo between 1422 and approximately 1430 for Luís de Guzmán.[60] It will be recalled that his contemporary Enrique de Guzmán, patron of the

frescoes in San Isidoro del Campo, was part of the Seville branch of that influential and noble family. Unsubstantiated evidence of a Northern Spanish connection, and of the peripatetic life of an illuminator, is provided by an auction catalogue of 1951, which claims that the ex-Horsfeld cuttings came "from a choir-book in the Cathedral of Valladolid, looted by the French in 1812."[61]

If the Master of the Cypresses was indeed Pedro de Toledo, was Pedro Spanish? Students of the earliest known portions of his oeuvre have noted a predominance of Italian traits (which caused the Rochester and Chicago leaves to be catalogued originally as Italian), and a few have wondered whether the artist was in fact Italian.[62] In 1930, Chandler Post brought up the tantalizing but ultimately elusive case of Sansone Delli, whose brother, the well-known Florentine painter Dello Delli, was living in Castile as early as 1433 and left works in Salamanca, and who, according to the testimony of his mother recorded in Florence in 1446, was residing in Seville in that year.[63] Unfortunately, Sansone left no trace, documentary or artistic, in Seville or any other Spanish city.[64]

Italian characteristics are most striking in the decorative forms of the initials and borders of the choir books. These elements are closest to Sienese types, which is understandable, given the political and economic ties between Spain and Siena. The initials with white pen details, the rinceaux, gold circles with rays and tendrils, and putti among the foliage in the borders may be seen in innumerable Sienese examples. These traits appear to have been long-lived in fifteenth-century Siena and are therefore impossible to use to obtain a more precise dating. The open-mouthed dragon, for example, in the Rosenwald *Initial "S" with King David as a Scribe* (fig. 15), is comparable to a type evidently originated by Giovanni di Paolo in the 1420s, used again by him in the 1440s, and by followers such as Pellegrino di Mariano as late as the 1470s.[65]

The palette of rose-violet, lapis, green, and gold employed in the decorative and figural parts of the Seville and Rosenwald groups is also reminiscent of Sienese color. Like the ornamental forms, however, the color harmonies of the Seville, Rosenwald, and Escorial groups are not identical to Italian examples but rather are variants at a distinct remove from their source. The specific elements are drawn in a more schematic, two-dimensional way than their Italian counterparts; the palette is a less delicately modulated, sweeter, and more highly saturated version, replacing a stronger rose with the purer Italian violet, an insistent emerald green with the subtler yellow-green of Siena.

It is important to note that the borders in the Seville and related illuminations (which show evidence, especially in the pen flourishes, of at least two hands) are not necessarily associated exclusively with miniatures executed in Pedro de Toledo's style, and Pedro's style is not always seen in conjunction with these borders. The Rosenwald and related initial contours are all completely separable from whatever borders their folios carried, unlike the Seville series, whose borders emanate from the initials themselves. In the *Initial "I" with David* (Rosenwald B-23,766), the familiar rinceaux and gold circles are present but are not entwined, and in another, *Initial "D" with David* (Rosenwald B-23,770), where color was also misapplied, the rinceaux have been exaggerated and tightly curled in a half-understood imitation of the earlier, more graceful forms.

Several other examples (all but one in the Cathedral of Seville) exhibit this characteristic border vocabulary and palette, but now connected to a different miniature style: the *Missal cartujano o hispalense* and a folio (dated 1477) in the so-called *libro blanco,* a cathedral registry, both in the Cathedral of Seville; and a document of primogeniture, dated 1446 and in the collection of the Dukes of Alba in Madrid, employ the border in conjunction with miniatures by another hand. This hand is flatter, less refined, and more strictly Northern-influenced, though it utilizes Pedro's model of a seated, throned figure within an initial; in two of the three miniatures, this figure is seated over a checkerboard floor.[66] Two of the miniatures depict members of the royal family of Castile: the Alba *Mayorazgo* depicts John II, and folio 148 of the *libro blanco* in Seville portrays Queen Isabella kneeling in adoration before the Virgin and Child. Still another example of the border, in Book 18, contains one surviving illumination on folio 26, an *Initial "G" with All Saints,* by a different but roughly contemporary hand (that is, of the middle or later fifteenth century).[67] Thus, the artist who executed the borders, who was certainly under the influence of Siena, may have stayed in Seville, collaborating in the early years with Pedro de Toledo and for at least thirty years with other masters working in the more current Flemish style. Pedro would appear to have gone off to establish another workshop.

The figures in all the miniatures in this artist's oeuvre seem more Northern than Italian in the wide variety of individual facial types; they also seem too

old-fashioned to be direct imitations of contemporary Italian sources. Gothic archaisms linger, especially in the dense figural compositions, where space tends to be indicated by packed bodies; in the fascination in the early examples with surface textures and patterns, particularly brocade; and in the love of line and detail. A specifically Italian Gothic archaism persists in the modeling, with deep gray-brown tones—in the hollows in the cheekbones, for example—while more contemporary Italian traits are absent. As the master's style developed, these backward-looking qualities were injected with a new monumentality and naturalism that led him away from the International Gothic of the Seville choir books and the Getty Museum *Caritas.* But his work remained a synthesis of Italian and Northern features, transformed by a new emotional gravity into the expression of a wholly Spanish sensibility.

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NOTES

1. The cutting measures 36 x 31.5 cm (14 3/16 x 12 7/16 in.). See *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 14 (1986), no. 105, p. 207.
2. Sotheby's, London, June 25, 1985, lot 24.
3. "El Maestro de los cipreses (1434)," *Archivo español de arte y arqueología* 11 (1928), pp. 65–96. The stylistic grouping of these choir books had been published as early as 1884 by Claudio Boutelou de Soldevilla and Adolfo Fernández y Casenova in "Libros de coro de la Catedral de Sevilla," *Boletín de la Real Academia de San Fernando* 4 (1884), pp. 163-79. Their relationship to the frescoes of San Isidoro del Campo was noted by Boutelou in "Libros de coro de la Catedral de Sevilla," *Boletín de la Sociedad español de excursiones* 14 (1906), p. 126.
4. G. Vikan, ed., *Medieval and Renaissance Miniatures from the National Gallery of Art* (Washington, D.C., 1975), nos. 46a–h.
5. *Initial "D" with Christ and the Scribe,* ca. 90 x 60 cm (3 7/16 x 23 5/8 in.), acc. no. 1916.401, given by the Rev. Frank Gunsaulus in 1916, and catalogued at the time as Florentine, ca. 1440, in the *Bulletin of the Art Institute of Chicago* 10 (1916), p. 246. For the attribution, see A. Bennett, J. Preston, and W. P. Stoneman, *A Summary Guide to Western Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts at Princeton University* (Princeton, 1991), no. 38.

   Another leaf, an *Initial "D" with Saint Paul Writing,* catalogued as the same size, date, and origin, was given by Gunsaulus at the same time but later deaccessioned. Gunsaulus obtained the leaves from the Chicago illuminator and calligrapher C. L. Ricketts, who bought them from James Tregaskis in 1912 (cat. 733, nos. 826–27). See S. de Ricci and W. J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada,* 3 vols. (New York, 1935), vol. 1, p. 513.
6. *Initial "E" with King David Seated,* 90 x 60 cm (35 7/16 x 23 5/8 in.); given by Robert Garrett of Baltimore, who obtained it from Coella L. Ricketts, who had bought it from Tregaskis in 1912; see de Ricci and Wilson (note 5), p. 872, no. 44. For the attribution, see Bennett, Preston, and Stoneman (note 5), no. 38.
7. Ms. 11. The leaf was described in de Ricci and Wilson (note 5), vol. 2, p. 1874, as written in Italy in the fifteenth century and measuring 91 x 60 cm (35 13/16 x 23 5/8 in.). It was purchased from Maggs in London in 1929 and, according to Louise Goldberg (Rare Books and Special Collections Librarian at the Sibley), it was bought as Spanish (personal communication, 1989). Its subject, *Christ Healing or Blessing a Kneeling Man,* corresponds to that described as having been offered by James Tregaskis as no. 819 in his catalogue 733, but whose whereabouts between 1912 and 1929 are unknown.

   The stylistic similarity of this leaf to the Getty Museum cutting was discovered by Ranee Katzenstein, who saw it in an exhibition, *Pages from the Past,* at the Picker Art Gallery of Colgate University in 1987. In the typescript checklist of that exhibition, the leaf was called North Italian and dated to the mid-fifteenth century.
8. 88.2 x 58.7 cm (34 3/4 x 23 1/8 in.). The owner generously revealed that it was purchased at a sale at William Doyle in New York, where it was called "the work of two Victorian ladies" (personal communication, 1991).
9. *Initial "O" with King David.* See S. Hindman, *Medieval and Renaissance Miniature Painting,* exh. cat. (London, 1989), no. 38. The cutting was exhibited at Hazlitt, Gooden, and Fox in London; the exhibition was organized by Bruce Ferrini Rare Books, Akron, and Sam Fogg Rare Books and Manuscripts, London, which published the catalogue.
10. *Initial "O" with King David.* Ibid.
11. *Initial "B" with Saint Michael Trampling the Dragon,* Bennett, Preston, and Stoneman (note 5), no. 38.
12. *Initial "I" with the Creation of the Firmament.* Sotheby's, London, Dec. 7, 1992, lot 17. I am grateful to Thomas Kren for calling my attention to this cutting, whose provenance is unpublished, and to William Voelkle for discussing its text with me.
13. Of the nine leaves listed in Tregaskis's Catalogue 733 of 1912 (nos. 819–27), several are untraced. Two leaves have not been connected with surviving collections; one (no. 824) was an *Initial "D"* and the other (no. 825) an *Initial "E" with Christ Blessing* (see de Ricci and Wilson [note 5], p. 632 [coll. of Coella Lindsay Ricketts, Chicago, no. 103]). An *Initial "S" with a King Kneeling before a Lectern* and an *Initial "D" with Christ and Caesar's Tribute* (nos. 820 and 823) were sold to Ricketts but later disappeared. One of the two additional leaves that passed from Ricketts to Gunsaulus, then to the Art Institute in 1916, was subsequently deaccessioned and has also disappeared (See note 5 and de Ricci and Wilson [note 5], p. 618, no. 103.)

   Although Ricketts's name is not inscribed beside Tregaskis no. 821 in the Grolier Club's copy of the catalogue, as it is next to the other lot numbers he is known to have purchased, the vague description could apply to the Firestone leaf: "the Deity crowned as king in the act of Blessing, in an Initial E." Sam Fogg's *Saint Michael Slaying the Dragon* corresponds to Tregaskis no. 822, which in the Grolier Club copy is annotated with the name *C.L. Ricketts.* The Sibley's *Christ Blessing a Kneeling Man* is surely the same as Tregaskis no. 819, described as *Christ Healing a Sick Man* and carrying a scroll inscribed

Misereatur tui. Even if they were not acquired by Tregaskis, the Getty, Breslauer, and New York examples could have been in the sale at Sotheby's, London, which de Ricci and Wilson claim took place about 1912 and was Tregaskis's source.

14. See, for example, S. Berger, "Les bibles castillanes: III révisions d'après l'Hébreu," *Romania* 28 (1899), pp. 508–20 and 559; A. Millares Castro y Battista, *Biblia medieval romanceada según los manuscritos escurialensis I-j-3, I-j-8 y I-j-6* (Buenos Aires, 1927); and C. O. Nordström, *The Duke of Alba's Bible* (Uppsala, 1967), pp. 48, 50–51, 54–56, 67, 87, 104, 150–51.
15. "Miniaturas del segundo cuarto del siglo XV," *Archivo español de arte y arqueología* 5 (1929), pp. 225–32.
16. These include, primarily, J. Zarco Cuevas, *Catálogo de los manuscritos castellanos de la Real Biblioteca del Escorial,* 3 vols. (Madrid, 1924–29), vol. 2, pp. 9–11 and 438; and J. Domínguez Bordona, *Manuscritos con pinturas,* 2 vols. (Madrid, 1933), vol. 2, p. 96.
17. "Miniaturas" (note 15).
18. In D. Angulo Iñiguez, J. de Ayarra, M. Ballesteros, et al., *La Catedral de Sevilla* (Seville, 1984), pp. 513–22.
19. Such a study must await the reopening of the Capitular Library of the cathedral, which has been inaccessible for the past several years while undergoing renovation. Openings in six of the volumes with illuminations by this artist are permanently on display in the Chapter Room of the cathedral, and good black-and-white photographs of all the surviving illuminations by the master and his workshop may be consulted in the Laboratorio de Arte at the University of Seville, Arxiu Mas in Barcelona, and the Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, in Santa Monica, California.
20. See Hindman (note 9), no. 38.
21. The New York initial is 17.5 x 15.2 cm (6 7/8 x 5 15/16 in.), the Getty's is 22.5 x 20 cm (8 7/8 x 7 7/8 in.), and the Princeton initial is 17 x 15.5 cm (6 11/16 x 6 1/8 in.). Seville Book 29's initials range from 16 x 19 (6 5/8 x 7 1/2 in.) to 19 x 17.5 cm (7 1/2 x 6 7/8 in.), its Book 81 from 18 x 19 cm (7 1/16 x 7 1/2 in.) to 18.5 x 17.5 cm (7 1/4 x 6 7/8 in.).
22. The measurements that have been taken by different people, (and subject to inconsistencies) are the following: approximately 2.5 cm (15/16 in.) in the Sibley leaf; 2.6–2.7 cm (1 1/16 in.) in the New York leaf; and 2.7 cm (1 1/16 in.) in the Getty cutting; and just under 3 cm (1 3/16 in.) in Seville books 29 and 81.
23. That is, it is possible to do so if one is fortunate enough to have had the opportunity to learn some of the mysteries of decoding choir books from liturgical scholars such as Anne Korteweg of the Royal Library in The Hague and William Voelkle of the Morgan Library in New York. Although sources are inconsistent with regard to numbering, the twenty-two volumes comprising the remaining Cypresses group appear to be Books 1, 4, 29, 30, 31, 33, 36, 44, 45, 48, 55, 58, 60, 66, 72, 75, 77, 78, 81, 82, 91, and 96.
24. "Libros de coro" 1906 (note 3), p. 130.
25. These were called folios 48 and 55. "Libros de coro" (1884) (note 3), p. 130.
26. Ibid.
27. Angulo (note 3), p. 72. For a discussion of the choir book holdings, see D. Angulo Iñiguez, "Libros corales de la catedral de Sevilla siglos XV y XVI," pp. 513–22; P. R. Merino, "El Archivo de la Santa Iglesia Catedral de Sevilla," p. 774; and M. del Rosario Domínguez Benítez, "Libros corales de la catedral de Sevilla; siglos XVII, XVIII, and XIX," pp. 529–38; all in Angulo Iñiguez, Ayarra, Ballesteros, et al. (note 18).
28. J. Brown, *Murillo and His Drawings* (Princeton, 1976), app. 3, p. 191.
29. J. D. Passavant had mentioned them briefly in 1853 in *Die Christliche Kunst in Spanien* (Leipzig, 1853), pp. 60–61. See also Boutelou and Fernández (note 3), pp. 176–77, for thirteen examples of initials pasted into various volumes.
30. "Los libros de coro . . . han sufrido alteraciones no pequeñas para adaptarlos a las exigencias del culto. Por este motivo hemos preferido ordenar por asuntos las viñetas de nuestro miniaturista, formando varios ciclos, a registrarlas según aparecen en los libros." Angulo (note 3), p. 72.
31. See Book 29, fols. 19v and 58v; Book 44 fols. 21v, 29, and 43; Book 66 fol. 50v; and Book 81, fols. 17 and 31v. Appearances of King David occur in conjunction with other Old and New Testament figures in a single volume. Book 29, for example, includes scenes of: religious figures in prayer; Christ surrounded by three kneeling figures; David on his sickbed; Isaias and a kneeling figure; the Temptation in the Desert; an Old Testament king; Christ curing a paralytic; David in prayer with a harp; a scene of confession; the Paralytic at the Pool of Bethesda; and Moses.
32. Ricketts left the bulk of his estate to the Lilly Library at the University of Indiana in 1961. These leaves were not among the manuscript holdings in that bequest, and their present whereabouts are unknown.
33. *Summary Guide* (note 5), no. 38.
34. This is a particularly vexing problem, the solution of which will require direct examination of Books 58, 78, and 81 in Seville. Both the New York leaf and the Seville Book 58, fol. 31v, depict the *Initial "O" with Saint Paul* beginning the introit "Omnes gentes." The New York leaf is dedicated to the mass for the seventh Sunday after Pentecost. The photograph of the Seville folio includes only a few notes, and they are not identical to those of the New York leaf, but they seem to have been scraped and repainted, as does the text.

    One other introit beginning with "Omnes gentes" is missing from the extant Seville series. It would have been folio 1 of Book 78 or one of two now missing from the end of Book 81, which precedes 78 in the liturgical cycle. In the absence of such an examination, one can only say that the New York leaf could apparently have been in this Pentecostal sequence only if both folios had been moved around, as is the case with other initials.
35. "Libros de coro" 1884 (note 3), p. 177; "cortado de otro libro."
36. "En dicho año iluminaba los libros de oficio de la Transfiguración, de San Lorenzo, y Ascensión de Nuestra Señora y fiestas de Santa María de las Nieves y de San Gabriel y los himnos de San Gabriel y de las Nieves." J. Gestoso y Pérez, *Ensayo de un diccionario de los artifices que florecieron en esta ciudad de Sevilla desde el siglo XIII hasta el XVIII,* 3 vols. (Seville, 1899), vol. 1, p. 323.
37. See, for example, the more heavyhanded, formulaic treatment of line and volume and the simplistic handling of architectural forms in the Sibley leaf, *Christ Among the Doctors* in Book 60, fol. 45v, and two representations of Saint Paul in Book 58, fols. 17v and 31v.
38. Book 4, fol. 26, reproduced in color in E. Valdivieso, *Historia de la pintura sevillana* (Seville, 1986), fig. 11, p. 29.
39. Book 44, vol. 1v.
40. See, for example, Book 45, fol. 22, an *Old Testament King.*
41. There is one additional female, with an obliterated face, in a depiction of *Christ and the Canaanite* in Book 66, fol. 44v.
42. While the portrayal of Charity is unusual in illuminated manuscripts, it is more common in the cathedral, albeit from

later periods. Charity is represented, for example, along with *The Eucharist* and *The Redemption of Christ,* in the late fifteenth-century lower choir stalls, and in a late sixteenth-century stone sculpture, accompanied by Faith and Hope, in the Royal Chapel. Saint Elizabeth of Hungary is a commonly depicted figure of charity in Seville, but examples from this early date are unknown to this author.

43. "Oro en las trajes." "Libros de coro" 1884 (note 3), p. 177.
44. The whole cycle has been newly cleaned and treated by a team of local conservators, whose campaign was completed in 1990.
45. "Libros de coro" 1884 (note 3), p. 126.
46. The exact date that construction began is in dispute because documentary evidence is contradictory. It may have been begun as early as 1417, or as late as 1433, as current scholarship seems inclined to accept, perhaps because the earliest surviving account book dates only from 1434. See Angulo Iñiguez, Ayarra, Ballesteros, et al. (note 18), p. 134.
47. See note 36.
48. The International Gothic style in Spain reached its apogee in the early works of Bernat Martorell, a painter whose activity is documented between 1427 and 1452. The most important work of that early phase is the altarpiece of *Saint George.* Its panels are in the Louvre and in the Art Institute of Chicago and are dated between 1434 and 1438 by Mary Grizzard (*Bernardo Martorello, Fifteenth-Century Catalan Artist* ([New York, 1984], p. 445). On the basis of stylistic affinities with this altarpiece, the surviving lower part of another altarpiece, dedicated to Saint Lucy, is dated around 1435. Formerly in the Paris collection of Victor Martin Le Roy, the altarpiece was sold at auction in Paris in 1989 (Ader Picard Tajan, June 27, 1989, lot 41). Like the Getty Museum cutting, its central panel of *Saint Lucy and a Donor* shows a large, impassive standing female wearing ermine-trimmed brocade and holding attributes. She is accompanied by a small suppliant male figure, in this case a kneeling donor, with a gaunt face and delicately delineated features turned up in adoration, like those of the crouching beggar by the Master of the Cypresses. See J. Gudiol and S. Alcolea i Blanch, *Pintura gótica catalana* (Barcelona, 1986), p. 126 and figs. 645–47.
49. See, for example, J. Gestoso y Pérez, *Sevilla monumental y artística,* 3 vols. (Seville, 1889–92), vol. 3, p. 593; and A. Domínguez Ortíz, *Andalucía ayer y hoy* (Barcelona, 1983), p. 72. The Congregation of the Observance of Saint Jerome was a popular house in Italy, but in Spain it was confined to the seven houses in Andalusia, where its monks were popularly known as isidros, a variant of Isidoro.
50. Illuminators documented as working for the cathedral after Pedro de Toledo include: Diego Fernández del los Pilares, who was paid in 1454 for narratives in large books; Nicolás Gómez, paid for unspecified illuminations in 1464; and Diego Sanchez paid in 1467. See "Libros corales" 1884 (note 3), pp. 522–23.
51. See also book 48, fol. 29, of *Saint John*; and Book 81, fol. 17 of *King David with a Zither.*
52. Vikan (note 4), p. 171.
53. Personal communication, 1991.
54. Martorell's stylistic evolution and range of techniques (including illuminations, panel paintings, and possibly frescoes) are much like those argued here for the Master of the Cypresses. See, for example, his *Altarpiece of the Transfiguration* in Barcelona Cathedral, dated 1445–52 and reproduced in Gudiol and Alcolea (note 48), pls. 52–53.
55. "Miniaturas del segundo cuarto" (note 15), pp. 226–27.
56. For a general description of the miniatures, see Nordström, *Alba's Bible* (note 14), pp. 24–40.
57. Angulo, "Miniaturas del segundo cuarto" (note 15), p. 226.
58. See note 36.
59. Book 4, fol. 26v. The others include the *Resurrection* in Book 44, fol. 1v, and *Saint Lawrence* on folio 89v of Book 91.
60. Nordström (note 14), p. 38, has noted that each of the miniatures in this Bible appears, like Escorial I-j-3, to have been executed by two artists, a draftsman and an illuminator.
61. Sotheby's, London, Jan. 29, 1951, lots 33–34. The Rosenwald cuttings were in the collection of W. Sterling, who noted on the binding that he had bought them from a "'*Spanish Libro deloro*' at Madrid in 1849." Vikan (note 4), p. 171.
62. Although the designation "de Toledo" would probably refer to a Spaniard from that city, one should bear in mind the propensity for calling foreigners by Spanish names denoting origin. (For example, the Florentine artist Dello Delli was known as Nicolas Florentino.) It is not impossible that an Italian artist who had established a reputation in one Spanish city could in another town be called by the name of that city. If Pedro were Piero, who made his name in Toledo and was later called to Seville, Sevillanos might refer to him as Pedro de Toledo.
63. C. R. Post, *A History of Spanish Painting,* vol. 3 (Cambridge, Mass., 1930), p. 235.
64. Andrée de Bosque claimed that the artist was certainly Italian, but her misunderstanding of the known facts concerning the date of Sansone's sojourn in Seville, her perpetuation of a groundless attribution to Sansone of work in Avila, and her insistence on a late fourteenth-century date for both the murals and the illuminations, undermine the credibility of her arguments. See her *Artistes italiens en Espagne du XIVme siècle aux rois catholiques* (Paris, 1965), p. 143.
65. See K. Christiansen, *Renaissance Painting in Siena,* exh. cat. (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1989), cat. nos. 29, 30, and 39b.
66. These are: the *Missal cartujano o hispalense* and the *Libro blanco,* vol. 1, Patronato no. 394, fol. 148v., both in the Biblioteca Colombina of the cathedral and reproduced in J. Bernales Ballesteros, "La Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina," in Angulo, Ayarra, Ballesteros, et al. (note 18), figs. 723 and 701, respectively (only the border of the missal is reproduced; the miniature is in one of several choir books on display in the Sala Capitular); and the *Orla de la Escritura de Mayorazgo por D. Lorenzo Suárez de Figueroa,* dated 1446, in the Liria Palace in Madrid, and reproduced in A. Paz y Mélia, *Series de los mas importantes documentos del Archivo y Biblioteca del Exmo. Sr. Duque de Medinaceli,* vol. 1 (Madrid, 1915), pl. 8.
67. The folio is reproduced in *Exposicíon Valdés Leal y de arte retrospectivo: Catálogo* (Seville, 1923), pl. 29.

A Hellenistic Portrait Head

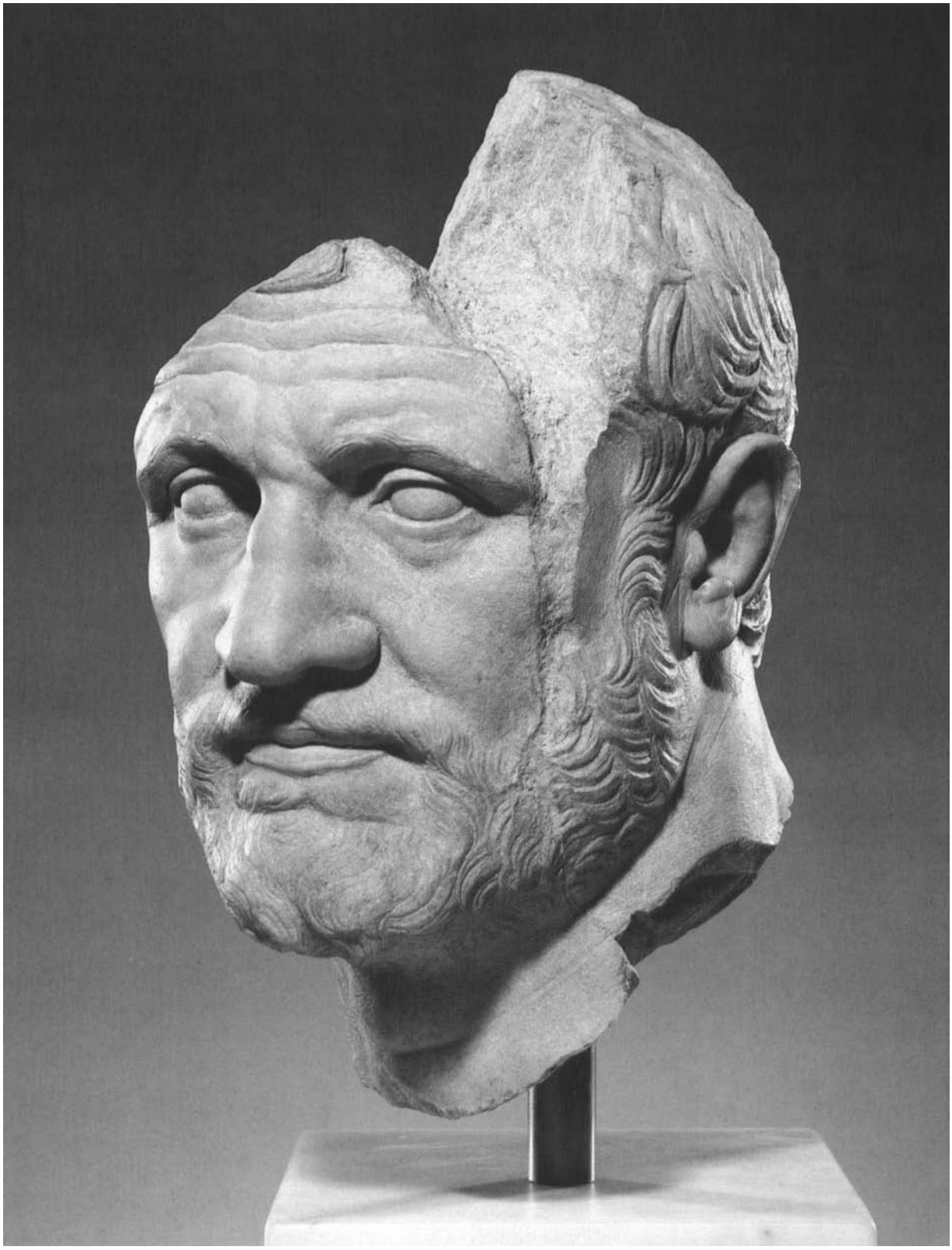
Ariel Herrmann

A marble head in the J. Paul Getty Museum, well over life-size, is the portrait of a mature man with a short beard (figs. 1 a–e).[1] His face is deeply marked by discipline and experience. He turns his head, directing his gaze to his left and slightly upward. His hair, cut short, is arranged in rows of flat, sideswept locks that radiate from a central cowlick; a strand visible below the break on his forehead shows that the coiffure was completed by bangs brushed to one side. The play of diagonal knots of muscle over his eyebrows forces the upper part of his forehead into deep, parallel, double-arched furrows. His eyebrows are modeled in irregular ridges, along which individual hairs are indicated with curving, incised strokes. His eyes, wide open and set in deep sockets, are rather small, with distinctly modeled lids and clearly defined lachrymal caruncles. His flesh forms pouches, with the leatheriness of aging skin, below his lower lids, and his cheeks are furrowed with diagonal creases. Frown lines and a hard horizontal wrinkle set off the root of his nose. The basically straight line of its bridge has been broken into two lumps. Narrow at the root, his nose has a heavy tip and large, flaring nostrils flanked by deeply indented naso-labial furrows. His beard is brushed forward in crisply carved locks behind his cheekbones; on his chin and around his mouth it is indicated by light, incised strokes, suggesting a silky texture. Under his soft mustache, his lips, thin and sharply carved, are compressed. Downward-slanting hollows at the corners of his mouth give a hint of bitterness to his expression, with a sense of pressure emphasized by the muscular bulge beneath his lower lip. His mouth is further accentuated by the inverted-V parting of his mustache above and the sharp, fishtail pattern of his beard in the bulging area below. His fleshy, well-shaped ears have deep inner hollows and fine wrinkles on the lobes. His neck, with its baroque turn, is long and powerful; only two engraved, horizontal creases hint at the sitter's ripe years.

Just above the break at the back of his neck there is, in one place, a low ridge. This is set at a steep diagonal and so must be the remains of drapery rather than the high neck flange of a cuirass.[2] From its apparent bulk, it is likely to have been a mantle. This could have been worn across the shoulder and around the hips of an otherwise bare torso, over a chiton, or even over armor; many possibilities remain open as to how the complete statue would have looked.

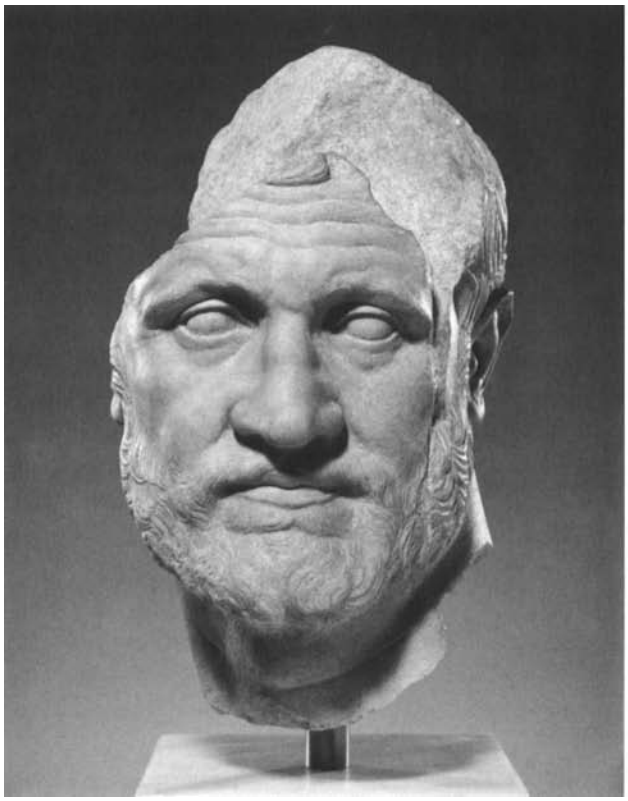
For all its sensitivity, the portrait is obviously the work of an artist practiced in the creation of statuary on a colossal scale. Details are selectively sharpened to read when seen at a distance and from below. The division between the tightly closed lips, for example, is emphasized by an extremely thin drilled channel. An incised inner line runs within the modeled outer contour of the mouth, like the line of a copper inlay in a bronze statue. The nostrils are very deeply drilled, and the canal of the ear is indicated with a round hole, a detail rare in ancient sculpture but seen in some works of the fifth century B.C. and occasionally revived thereafter.[3]

Though badly broken, evidently as the result of a fall, the head shows no signs of weathering. Its subtly polished surface is in such pristine condition that the smallest engraved details, and even the traces of preliminary finishing with a rasp, are still clearly visible. The piece is made of translucent, crystalline, bluish-white marble, visually similar to that used for typical Pergamenian pieces.[4] Other, less securely attributed works in a baroque Hellenistic style, from the Centaur head in the Capitoline to the Odyssey groups at Sperlonga, are made from a marble of similar appearance.[5] The grayish marble used in such large quantities at Pergamon was thought by early scholars to be local, but recent investigations have revealed no appropriate quarries with evidence of extensive ancient working in the vicinity of Pergamon.[6] The difficulties of overland transport have been pointed out; a recent sugges-



1a

FIGURES 1a–e Portrait head of a man. Hellenistic, second quarter of the second century B.C. Marble, 40.7 x 25 cm (16 x 9 7/8 in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 91.AA.14.



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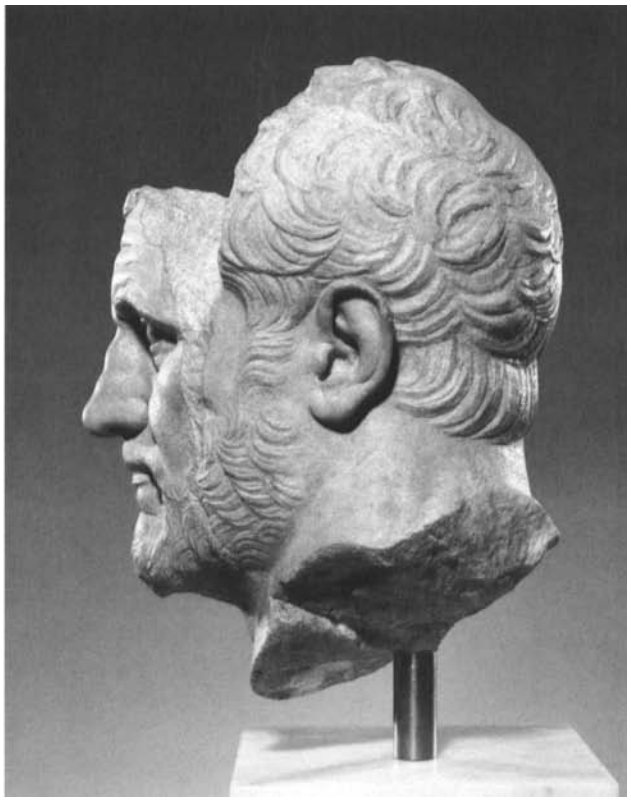

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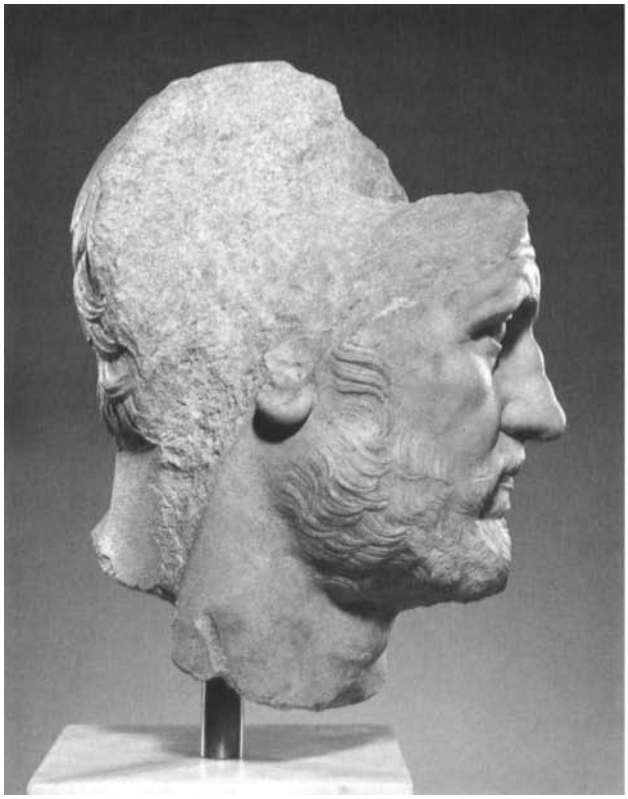

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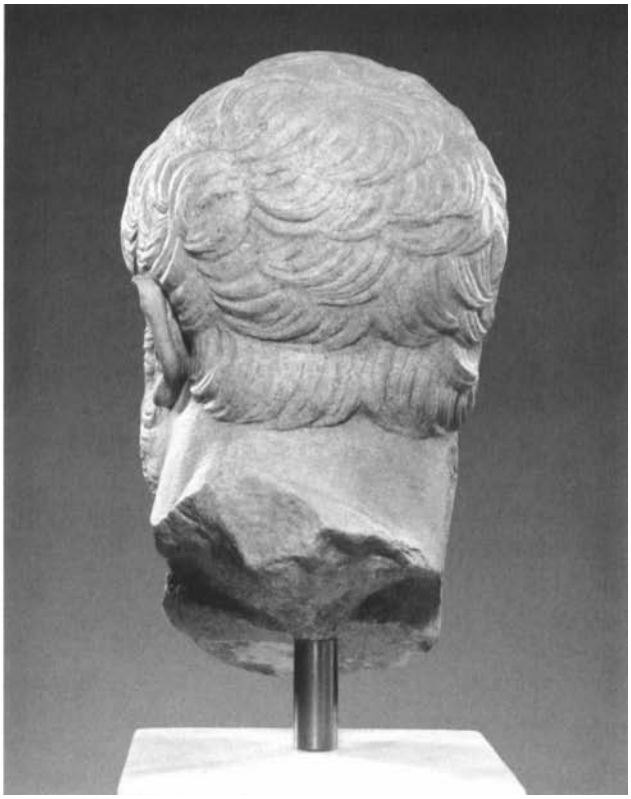


1e

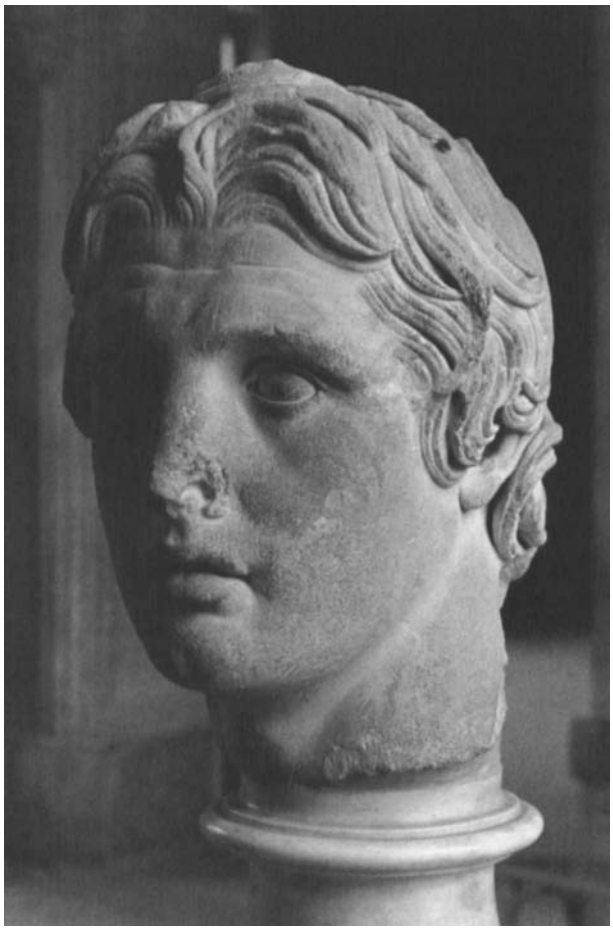


FIGURE 2 Head of Alexander from Pergamon. First half of the second century B.C. Marble, H: 41 cm (16 1/8 in.). Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, no. 1138. From *Altertümer von Pergamon* VII.

tion is that the blue-gray stone was brought by sea from Lesbos.[7] The question deserves to be reopened. If the marble was loaded onto a ship from a quarry close to the sea, the relative length of the voyage from one or another of the Aegean islands or coastal regions becomes unimportant.

In its general appearance the Getty head evokes fourth-century likenesses of soldierly, mature men, including those identified with Philip II of Macedon.[8] It also owes something to the portraits of active-looking intellectuals like Demosthenes and Aristotle.[9] Its realism, however, goes beyond such representations. The face is very individualized, with its lumpy nose and tightly controlled mouth. The squaring of the jaw, the prominence of the cheekbones, the angle of the nose to the brow are shown as they appear in nature, no longer modified by the conventions of Greek ideal sculpture.

Our portrait finds its best parallels in the high Hellenistic sculpture of Pergamon. Some of its features are seen in the head of Alexander from Pergamon, now in Istanbul (fig. 2).[10] The marble, the scale, and even the drilled ear canal are alike. The heads share the same basic treatment of forehead and eyes. Knots of muscle lift the eyebrows and force the skin into parallel corrugations above. The eyeballs roll upward in their deep sockets, overhung by the heavy superorbital folds. The visible portion of the eye is shown as part of the underlying sphere, the roundness of which is perceptible beneath both lids. A conspicuous lachrymal caruncle fills the inner corner of the opening. This handling of eyes and forehead is also seen in the Gigantomachy frieze of the Great Altar, where curling, engraved eyebrows like those of the Getty portrait are conspicuous on the older Giants.[11] It has recently been maintained that the Istanbul head, often in the past ascribed to one of the masters of the Gigantomachy but considered a free-standing Alexander portrait, is in fact a fragment from the frieze.[12] The head, carved fully in the round and of extraordinarily high quality, would be one of those worked almost or entirely free of the background and now missing from the upper part of the relief. Whether or not this attribution proves correct, it is entirely convincing in relation to the style and date of the Istanbul piece.

The Getty head's closest affinities are with another head found at Pergamon. The over life-size portrait of an Attalid ruler now in Berlin has a strong family resemblance to our piece, one which possibly extends to subject matter as well as style (figs. 3a–e).[13] For all their baroque power, the likenesses share an unusual quality of maturity and sobriety that sets them apart from the more typical, naively flamboyant Hellenistic ruler portraits. The heads are approximately the same in scale. They are made of the same bluish-white marble, and, allowing for differences in preservation, they seem originally to have had similar, carefully finished surfaces, under which faint rasp marks are visible in the well-preserved areas.[14] The same formation of the largish and fleshy but not projecting ear and the rare detail of the drilled ear canal are found in both.[15] The brow of the Berlin Attalid is smoother, but, allowing for the more idealized, ageless characterization of the sitter, the underlying structure of forehead and eye regions is the same seen in the Getty portrait, linking both to the Gigantomachy frieze. The Berlin ruler has the same fleshy nose, deeply indented nostrils, and prominent naso-labial furrows as the

3a

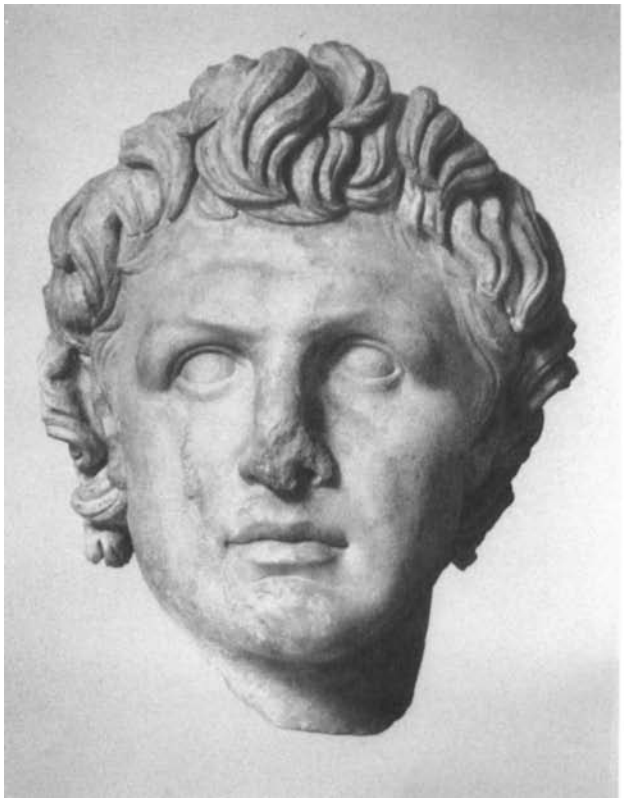
3b

FIGURES 3a–e Head of an Attalid ruler from Pergamon. First half of the second century B.C. Marble, H: 39.5 cm (15 3/8 in.). Berlin, Pergamonmuseum, no. P 130. Figures 3a–d from *Altertümer von Pergamon* VII; figure 3e from Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome. Figures 3a–b show the statue in its present condition; figures 3c–e, in its earlier condition, with separately worked hair.

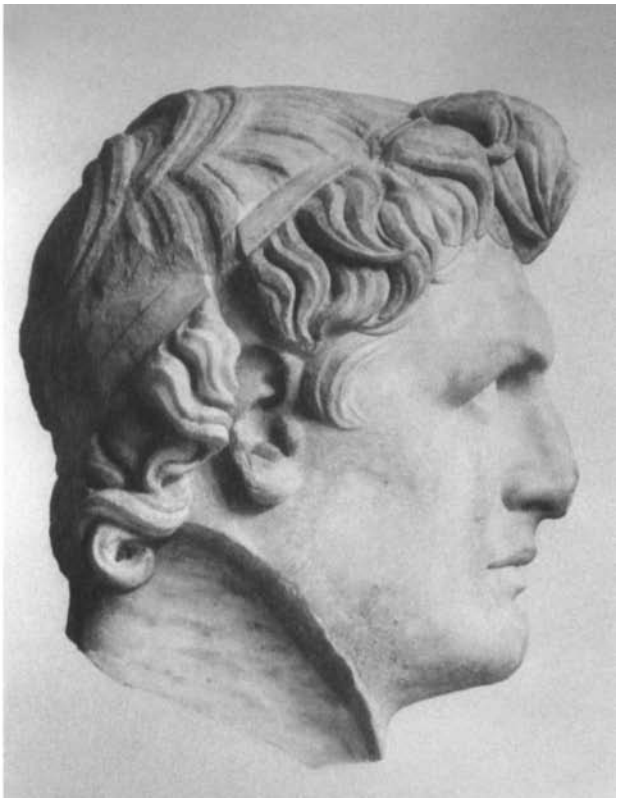
Getty piece, and a fainter version of the stern depressions at the corners of the mouth. The hair of phase one (figs. 3c–e) is carved in flat rows of overlapping, sideswept locks radiating from a central cowlick behind and breaking into livelier patterns in higher relief on the temples; not only the basic arrangement but the manner of carving is almost exactly like that in the Getty portrait. In a second phase (figs. 3a–b), the original short hair of the Berlin head was partly worked away for the addition of longer, Alexander-like locks framing the face.

The date and identity of the Berlin head are a subject of recently intensified controversy.[16] It has been maintained that the piece in its first phase wore no diadem and is a portrait of Attalos I (ruled 241–197 B.C.), carved before he declared himself king in the 230s.[17] On stylistic grounds, such a date seems disconcertingly early.[18] It is difficult to believe that this distinctively Pergamene manner reached its maturity during the years of Pergamon's emergence as a major power rather than during a later phase of consolidation and cultural fruition. Full investigation of the original is not now possible, since the added locks are firmly cemented in place.[19] On the basis of photographs, it seems more likely that both versions had a diadem, though phase one would, admittedly, have worn it at an unusual angle.[20] It may well be, in any case, that the two phases were not far apart.[21] Both the face and the pieced-on hair are similar in workmanship to the Gigantomachy frieze. The additions are carved with an aplomb that would be surprising if an already standing statue had been hastily remodeled.[22] It seems more likely that the Berlin ruler's baroque hairpiece was a pentimento made by the original sculptor before the piece left his workshop.[23] Under these circumstances a work-in-progress might indeed have been adjusted to suit a change in fashion or in the subject's status. There is even the possibility that a statue begun as a portrait of one member of the ruling house was, in response to new requirements, finished as a portrait of another.

The identification of the Berlin head as Attalos I



3c



3d

3e

remains a possibility, perhaps the most attractive one because of the portrait's strongly idealized quality.[24] However, a date well after Attalos' assumption of the royal title, and probably after his death, seems likely on the grounds of the stylistic similarities with heads of the Gigantomachy frieze, especially as current discoveries tend to push the date of the Gigantomachy down into the last years of Eumenes II.[25] Eumenes II cannot be completely ruled out as the subject of the Berlin head; a newly discovered, much clearer version of his only coin portrait, hitherto known only in one barely legible example, has been taken either to exclude or to confirm this identification.[26] There seems no need to consider the later kings Attalos II (159–138 B.C.) or Attalos III (138–133 B.C.), since the Berlin head's style, like that of the Getty piece, is inseparable from the Gigantomachy frieze.

The two portrait heads' smooth surfaces and sharply cut detail might be taken to suggest derivation from bronze prototypes, but since the manner is so closely paralleled in the frieze, which was certainly conceived directly in stone, it becomes clear that the workmanship represents a special phase of Pergamenian marble-working technique. There is an uninhibited facility with the material, perhaps only possible in a city where a large group of accomplished and inventive marble sculptors worked together for years while engaged in the creation of the Great Frieze.[27] The manner they evolved seems not to have been widely exported and apparently could not be long sustained. The fragmentary heads of a royal couple from the Athenian Acropolis, in one of which Dontas has identified a replica of the Berlin ruler, are quite different in their handling.[28] Various later Hellenistic ruler portraits and Alexander-like heads found at Pergamon also fall away rapidly from the style of the Berlin Attalid and the Getty portrait, just as the Telephos Frieze abandons the mannerisms of the Gigantomachy in a way not explainable solely by the differences of scale and subject matter.[29]

In Athens, the only piece which has some connection with the style of the Berlin and Getty heads is a fragmentary head of a clean-shaven, long-haired man (figs. 4a–b).[30] Its findspot, the Stoa of Attalos, might not be significant were it not for the cool and analytical but grand style and a certain cast of features that link it to Attalid royal portraits. The face is long and solid-looking. The big, fleshy, straightish nose, narrow at the root and broad across the nostrils, projects at a naturalistic angle like the noses of the other Pergamene portraits discussed here; like them, it is set off

4a

4b

FIGURES 4a–b Fragmentary portrait of a man from the Stoa of Attalos. Probably mid-second century B.C. Marble. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, no. 3266. Photos: A. Herrmann.

5a

5b

5c

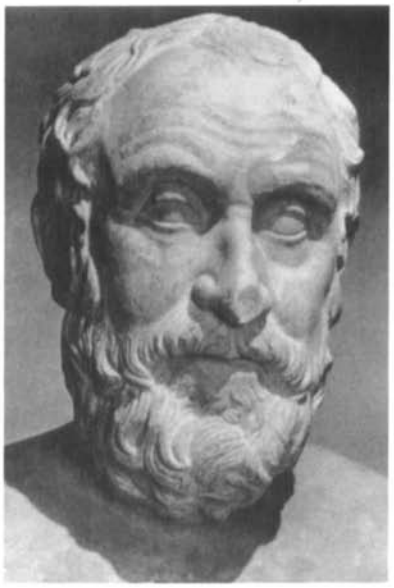
FIGURES 5a–c Portrait herm of Philetairos from the Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum. Roman copy after a Hellenistic model. Marble. Naples, Museo Nazionale, no. 6148. Photos: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome.

above by a horizontal wrinkle as well as frown lines and below by strong naso-labial furrows. The pouchy skin under the eyes recalls the more extreme rendering seen in the Getty head, while the wide, firm-looking mouth and rounded chin resemble those of the Berlin ruler. The Athens head, however, is life-size and has a certain understated, even introspective character, possibly exaggerated by the present mounting at a downward-tilted angle, which sets it apart from the Berlin and Getty portraits. It may well represent a person with ties to the Attalid court, whether a lesser member of the family or some other individual under the patronage of the dynasty.

One important likeness connected with the Pergamene royal house, the portrait in the round of its founder, Philetairos, who died in 263 B.C., has come down to us only in a copy (figs. 5a–c).[31] The head of Philetairos makes its appearance on the coins of his successors from the middle of the third century on. His aspect is so unusual and at first glance so ill-suited to the purposes of dynastic propaganda that the coins must reflect his real features, as transmitted by a portrait made during or immediately after his lifetime. However, the version we have, a herm bust from the Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum, may be derived from a later sculptural edition. The image has been made less brutal-looking by deemphasizing his huge chin, giving more prominence to his nose, and flattening his bushy hair.[32] It seems likely that the elegant, posthumous version of the Philetairos portrait was made in the same ambient as the Getty and Berlin heads. The most obvious similarity is in the hair, which emerges from a central cowlick in overlapping rows of flat, sideswept locks, just like the hair of the other two pieces and unlike the thick, early Hellenistic curls attributed to Philetairos in the third-century coin portraits. The surviving left ear looks quite like the distinctive ears of the Getty and Berlin portraits (allowing, of course, for the influence of the copyist). Because Philetairos has a long and fat but leathery-looking face with an outsize chin, the emphasis on solid-looking expanses of flesh is even more pronounced than in the pieces discussed above. The frown lines and the horizontal wrinkle over the root of the large, straightish nose, the pronounced naso-labial furrows, and the projecting area beneath the lower lip all recall the Getty head and the Stoa of Attalos fragment, while the wide, rounded chin emerging from Philetairos' characteristic jowls has the same form as the chin of the Berlin and Stoa of Attalos heads.

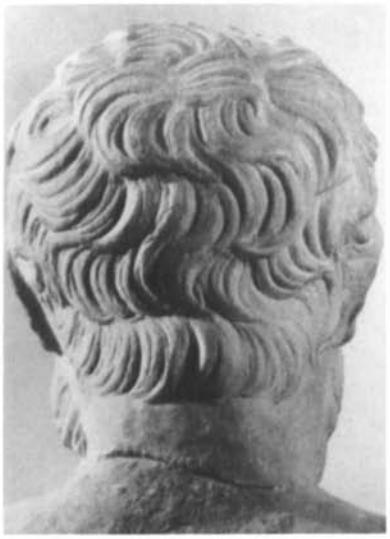
A nonroyal portrait usually thought to have Attalid connections and to be a chronological fixed point is that of the philosopher Karneades, known in a series of replicas.[33] Karneades, a native of Cyrene whose long life stretched from 214/13 to 129/28 B.C., was the founder of the Third Academy; he made a lasting impression in Rome when sent there on a diplomatic mission in 156/55 B.C. The base of a statue of Karneades erected by Ariarathes and Attalos, both of the deme Sypalettos, was found at Athens in the excavations of the Stoa of Attalos. The dedicators of the statue were taken to be the future Ariarathes V of Cappadocia, for whom a correspondence with Karneades is attested,[34] and the future Attalos II of Pergamon. The two men were closely related by marriage and were both prominent benefactors of Athens. Their enrollment as Sypalettoi would be honorary, and the explanation for their lack of royal titles would be that they dedicated the statue while studying in Athens before either had come to the throne. A. Stähli, in a new study which casts doubt on the conventional interpretation, has now argued that Ariarathes and Attalos are not the foreign princes but later Athenian citizens named in their honor.[35] For him the portrait type, which should indeed reproduce the original conveniently located in the Athenian Agora, is late Hellenistic in style and was created well after Karneades' death, at the end of the second or beginning of the first century B.C.

The appearance of the Getty portrait, however, which should be datable soon before the middle of the second century and with which the Karneades still has basic affinities, suggests that Stähli's downdating, though its premises are convincing, may be too drastic. The placement of the statue in front of the Stoa of Attalos and the coincidence of the two names of the men who dedicated it, even if they were private persons, imply a link with royal circles. The herm bust of Karneades in Ravenna (figs. 6a–c), more baroque in feeling than the pedantic Farnese replica or the classicistic retrostylization in Basel, is the best evidence for the style of the original.[36] Karneades' raised eyebrows and corrugated forehead recall the Getty piece, as do the crepey lower lids of his eyes and his fleshy nose with the horizontal wrinkle between frown lines at its root. There is a hint of similar beard treatment, silky except for the sharp inverted V over the upper lip and the fishtail in the zone directly below his mouth. The hair, in layers of short, sideswept locks behind and breaking into more lively movement at the temples, has the arrangement familiar from the Getty portrait, the Berlin ruler in its first phase, and the Philetairos.



6a

6b



6c

FIGURES 6a–c Portrait herm of Karneades. Roman copy after a Hellenistic original. Marble. Ravenna, Museo Archeologico. Photos from G.M.A. Richter, *The Portraits of the Greeks* (London, Phaidon Press, Ltd., 1965). Used by permission.

While Stähli seems right to question a date in the middle of the second century, it might be preferable to ascribe the dedication of the statue to private citizens of the next generation, when the influence or at least the memory of royal patrons was still alive. The logical occasions for the creation of the urbane but venerable-looking portrait would have been, as suggested earlier by Mattingly, either Karneades' retirement as head of the academy in 137/36 or his death in 129/28 B.C.[37] Later Hellenistic creations, such as the portrait of the first-century intellectual Poseidonios of Apamea or the imaginary likenesses of Hippokrates and Panyassis, make use of features like the compressed lips with the fishtail arrangement of beard below.[38] The puckerings and corrugations of the surface multiply, however, until, as in the famous bronze head from Delos, the face seems to be a rubber mask alive with veristic detail but loosely slipped over the supporting structure.[39] The strength of the Getty head, whose every form seems an inevitable result of anatomy conditioned by experience and character, is absent.

Any attempt to identify the Getty portrait's subject must remain tentative. Since he does not wear the diadem, the man was not actually king when his statue was set up.[40] However, our piece's colossal scale, the baroque set of the head on its long, powerful neck, and the subject's majestic demeanor make it seem probable that the person represented was a member of a ruling house. The confident perfection of the execution speaks for a leading workshop in a major artistic center. Because the head's closest parallels are among sculptures produced at Pergamon during the first half of the second century B.C., it is likely, though not certain, that the sitter is an Attalid. The differences in degree of apparent realism between the Berlin ruler and the Getty piece are what one would expect between the king's portrait and that of a relative. The Getty head is unlike most Hellenistic rulers in being bearded.[41] A few contemporary adversaries of Pergamon—such as Prusias I and II of Bithynia and Mithridates III, Pharnakes I, and Mithridates IV of Pontus—are shown in their coin portraits with "designer stubble," as are the Roman Flamininus and the usurper Achaios.[42] Philip V and Perseus of Macedon wear short beards, possibly intended to evoke their great predecessor Philip II.[43] Other rulers are almost always clean-shaven in the tradition of Alexander, though one might note the odd coincidence that two Late Antique marble roundels from Hierapolis, with fragmentary inscriptions labeling the subjects as "Attalos" and "Eumenes," show them as bearded.[44] We are not fully informed as to the styles worn by men other than rulers and hirsute intellectuals during the early second century. Common sense suggests that the short haircut and cropped, well-combed beard of our head are a practical mode, timeless or suggestive of earlier times, and appropriate to an aging, high-ranking man of

action. They convey not the Dionysian *truphé* of a monarch but the Herakles-like endurance of a trusted and battle-worn campaigner.

It should be remembered that Attalid monuments tended to celebrate the family as a whole, often in groups of portrait statues spanning several generations.[45] Royal and nonroyal members of the family, ancestors male and female, precursors and potential successors of the current king were honored. The Getty portrait, with its somewhat retrospective quality, may be the imaginary likeness of someone who had lived much earlier, Eumenes I for example, or another of the historical or even mythic *progonoi.* However, the head's very convincingly individualized appearance makes it tempting to suppose that a contemporary person is represented. If this is indeed the case, the Getty head is likely to be one of Eumenes II's brothers, probably his eventual successor, Attalos. Attalos was Eumenes' partner and most trusted delegate, especially in military campaigns. After the reported assassination of Eumenes II at Delphi in 172 B.C., Attalos assumed the throne and married Eumenes' wife Stratonike, but stepped down and returned Stratonike to Eumenes when the report proved to be untrue. He remained loyal to his brother, spurning divisive overtures from the Romans after tensions arose between Eumenes and these former allies. From 168/67 B.C. on, the two men were in effect co-rulers, though Eumenes remained nominally head of state.[46] The character and political stature of Attalos would fit our portrait, as would his age; he did not actually become king until he was sixty-one. The likeness to the Berlin ruler is convincing either as a filial resemblance, if that head represents Attalos I, or a fraternal one if it represents Eumenes II. Because the Getty portrait seems to show the future Attalos II as, allowing for the conventions of court sculpture, a man well into middle age, it should date from the years just before 159 B.C., when he came to the throne. This is consistent with the head's position as a link piece, looking back to the Gigantomachy frieze and forward, by way of the Karneades, to late Hellenistic portraiture. A very different image, the Terme Ruler, has recently been proposed as a likeness of Attalos II.[47] Only one, if either, of the identifications can be correct. Both rest solely on stylistic and physiognomic grounds; by these criteria, the Getty head seems to have a stronger claim.

Artistic patronage by the kings of Pergamon is documented not only in Asia Minor but all over the Greek world. The Attalids set up monuments at sanctuaries such as Delos and Delphi, in Athens and other major cities of mainland Greece, and at lesser places with special ties to the dynasty.[48] Further research might shed some light on the natural or, possibly, political accident that led to the Getty portrait's destruction while it was still in almost perfect condition. Such circumstances arose at least once even at Pergamon, with the incursion in 156/55 B.C. by Prusias II of Bithynia, who was able to remove Phyromachos' Asklepios from an unspecified sanctuary in or near the city.[49] It would be easier to suggest occasions for our portrait's premature destruction, however, if it had stood in a location where Attalid rule or influence was more often challenged.

The identification and attribution of the Getty head remain open to, and are certain to inspire, other interpretations. This study can serve only to introduce an original Hellenistic work that for art historical importance, beauty of execution, and expressive power is on a level with the finest surviving Greek portraits.

Ariel Herrmann is an independent scholar who lives in New York City.

NOTES

My thanks to Marion True for her generous permission to publish this head and for her hospitality.

The abbreviations in the following notes conform to the suggestions of the *American Journal of Archaeology* 95 (1991).

1. Accession number 91.AA.14; 40.7 x 25 cm (16 x 9⅞ in.). The head is broken off along an irregular line through the lower part of the neck. The head and neck are split into two pieces along a vertical line that runs through the left temple behind the eyebrow and just behind the ear on the right side. On the lower left side the pieces join, but above, and all along the right side, there is a large, wedge-shaped section missing between the two fragments. The upper part of the forehead is also missing, along with all of the hairline except for its lowermost edge on the forehead and all but the lobe of the right ear. The surface of what remains is in excellent condition, except for minor abrasions in a few spots, such as the edge of the left ear and a patch above the right end of the mustache.
2. Late Classical and Hellenistic cuirasses often had a flap or flange to protect the back of the neck. See *EAA* VI (Rome, 1965), p. 50, fig. 56, for a clear illustration of one on the balustrade reliefs from the stoa in the Sanctuary of Athena Polias at Pergamon; M. Andronikos, *Vergina* (Athens, 1984), pp. 138–39, for the feature on the iron cuirass from Vergina. See A. Hekler, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der antiken Panzerstatuen," *ÖJh* 19–20 (1918), p. 190ff., p. 195ff., for fragments of

a colossal cuirass statue at Pergamon; fig. 133 for a Hellenistic cuirassed torso in the Residenz, Munich, with the mantle worn over the cuirass.

3. See B. Ashmole and N. Yalouris, *Olympia* (London, 1967), pls. 96 (Theseus), 107 (Apollo), for this detail in figures from the west pediment at Olympia. The feature appears in a number of early Classical works, including the Kritian Boy, but is not always apparent in photographs. It is revived in Hadrianic times, when it is seen on the colossal Myronian Herakles from Hadrian's Villa (A. H. Smith, *A Catalogue of the Sculpture in the Department of Antiquities, British Museum,* vol. 3 [London, 1904], no. 1734) and occasionally on portraits.
4. Condition report prepared by M. Elston and J. Maish, Department of Antiquities Conservation, J. Paul Getty Museum.
5. B. Andreae and B. Conticello, *Die Skulpturen von Sperlonga, AntP* XIV (1974), is the basic publication of the Sperlonga sculpture but does not deal with the question of the marble. Though the material has sometimes been characterized as the *lithos Lartios* of Rhodes (see G. Jacopi, *L'antro di Tiberio a Sperlonga* [Rome, 1963], p. 39), it has more recently been shown that the marble quarried on Rhodes was of poor quality, suitable only for bases, and that most Rhodian sculpture was made from imported marble; see G. Merker, *The Hellenistic Sculpture of Rhodes, SIMA* XL (1973), p. 6 and nn. 12–13. See H. Stuart Jones, *Catalogue of the Palazzo dei Conservatori* (Oxford, 1926), p. 128, Orti Lamiani 3, pl. 47, for the Centaur; Ch. Haüber in E. La Rocca, *Le tranquille dimore degli dei,* exh. cat. (Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori, May–Sept. 1986), p. 97ff. and fig. 67, for a modern publication.
6. See W. Radt, "Der 'Alexanderkopf' in Istanbul," *AA* 1981, p. 583ff., n. 1. on the bluish, crystalline marble used for Pergamenian sculpture. He reports on the recent attempts by M. N. Filgis to locate its source.
7. Ibid.
8. See G. M. A. Richter, abridged and revised by R. R. R. Smith, *The Portraits of the Greeks* (Ithaca, 1984), p. 224, for works identified as Philip II of Macedon. Though no one of the proposed identifications, such as the Copenhagen head or the "Alcibiades" type, is wholly satisfying, his general appearance is known from the Severan Tarsos medallion. The ivory head from Vergina, which must have been completed by a helmet, cannot be taken as a likeness of Philip, if it is a portrait at all, but can at least stand as a contemporary representation of a bearded military man.
9. Ibid., p. 108ff., for Demosthenes; p. 95ff., for Aristotle.
10. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, no. 1138; H: 41 cm (16 1/8 in.); see F. Winter, *Altertümer von Pergamon* VII, *Die Skulpturen* (Berlin, 1908), no. 131, pl. 33, Beibl. 21. Musées Impériaux Ottomans, see G. Mendel, *Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines, et byzantines,* vol. 2 (Constantinople, 1912–14, repr. Rome, 1966), p. 254f., no. 538.
11. H. Kähler, *Der grosse Fries von Pergamon* (Berlin, 1948); cf. pls. 54,1; 55, 1–2; 58,2.
12. Radt (note 6). Radt's evidence is a small unfinished area, roughly tooled with the point, at the right side of the crown of the head. M. Kunze ("Neue Beobachtungen zum Pergamonaltar," *Phyromachos-Probleme, RM-EH* 31 [1990], p. 123ff.) has shown that the Gigantomachy frieze was finished after the blocks had been put in place on the building. The unfinished area high on the back of the Istanbul head, immediately under the molding that crowned the frieze and close to the sharply projecting dentils, would have been difficult for the sculptor to reach. However, L. Giuliani (*Bildnis und Botschaft* [Frankfurt am Main, 1986], p. 271f., no. 53) has persuasively maintained that the hair on the back of the head, for example at the nape of the neck, is finished with a care impossible on a piece not worked fully in the round and that the head is indeed an Alexander closely related to the Schwarzenberg type. F. Queyrel ("Portraits princiers hellénistiques," *RA* [1990], pp. 97–172; p. 132, no. 239) cites this opinion with approval.
13. Berlin, Pergamonmuseum, no. P 130; H: 39.5 cm (15 3/8 in.). The end of the nose is now restored. Winter (note 10), no. 130, pls. 31–32.
14. N. Himmelmann (*Herrscher und Athlet,* exh. cat [Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum, 1989], p. 210) notes that the head appears to have been cleaned with acid. Comparison with the Getty portrait suggests that the surface of the Berlin piece, though it may be slightly overcleaned, has not been drastically altered.
15. The left ear of the Berlin head has a hole indicating the ear canal.
16. R. R. R. Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 79ff. and 160, no. 28 (Attalos I, phase one before, phase two after he assumed the diadem); A. Stewart, *Greek Sculpture* (New Haven, 1990), p. 206ff. (Attalos I, phase one before, phase two after he assumed the diadem); B. Andreae, *Phyromachos-probleme, RM-EH* 31 (1990), p. 57, n. 36 (Attalos I); Himmelmann (note 14), p. 140f., fig. 56, p. 210, no. 6 (early second century, probably posthumous Attalos I, little time difference between two phases); F. Hiller, "Bemerkungen zum pergamenischen Herrscherbild," *Festschrift für Nikolaus Himmelmann* (Mainz, 1989), p. 245ff. (Eumenes II); F. Felten, *ÖJh* 56, Beiblatt (1985), p. 110ff. (phase one first half of second century B.C., phase two Marc Antony); G. Dontas, "Ein plastisches Attaliden-Paar auf der Akropolis," *Kanon. Festschrift E. Berger* (Basel, 1988), p. 222ff., p. 227f. (phase one Attalos II as king, phase two posthumous).
17. Smith (note 16).
18. As devil's advocate, however, one might recall the similarity of structure between the Berlin portrait and the head of the Gaulish chief in the Ludovisi group, pointed out by A. Stewart (note 16), p. 206. Many observers have noted the stylistic differences between the Ludovisi group and the Dying Gaul; see R. Wenning, *Die Galateranatheme Attalos I, Pergamenische Forschungen* Band 4 (1978), p. 8ff., for a detailed comparison; p. 11 n. 65, for comments by earlier scholars. Though authorities have often ascribed the prototypes of the Ludovisi and the Capitoline Gauls to different masters and occasionally to different monuments, almost all connect both originals with the dedications of Attalos I, set up soon after his victories over the Gauls in the 230s. B. S. Ridgway, *Hellenistic Sculpture I: The Styles of ca. 331–200 B.C.* (Madison, Wis., 1990), p. 304, is almost alone in her hints at a later date for the Ludovisi Gauls.
19. A cast made from the head without its additions is in Leipzig and would be useful for study of the problem.
20. The traces of a broad horizontal band around the head in the area cut down for the addition of the wig pieces can have had no role as a guideline for the later work, since they correspond to no part of the later coiffure. The band, worn rather low on the forehead, is wider than the string-like diadem of phase two, which is pushed upward at the front and narrowed to accommodate the frame of curls around the face. The channels that in a few places cut across the traces of a first diadem seem to agree with the arrangement of locks in the second coiffure, not the first, and to have been made in the course of reworking. The added locks, applied in several pieces, must have

received at least their final carving after being cemented in place, since the thin slices of marble would have been too brittle to work on if unsupported. The final carving might have dug down into the original head in the deepest channels, as it did along the upper border of the wig pieces. The section of diadem carved in one with the head at the back shows no signs of being a later modification. Chiseled without telltale hesitancy in the same crisp style as the phase one hair, it corresponds in width to the broad first diadem and joins up most awkwardly with the second, narrower band.

21. Himmelmann ([note 14], p. 210, no. 6) suggests that the additions were planned from the beginning. He notes that pieced coiffures are well attested at Pergamon and include an Alexander-like one with locks added in thin slices at the sides (Winter [note 10], no. 137). However, in the Berlin ruler portrait, the discrepancy in width between the broad first diadem, left visible behind, and the much narrower diadem of the second phase shows that there was a change in plan.
22. Felten ([note 16], p. 127ff.) describes the hair as inert and artificial-looking in comparison to the energized locks in the Gigantomachy, but surely its rather cautious arrangement can be ascribed to the difficulty of adapting the new locks to the hairline left over from phase one. The sculptor was reluctant to reveal the join by carving back the forehead and making the hair spring up in an *anastole* and so resorted to the wigmaker's expedient of puffy bangs.
23. Rather than cutting away the tops of the ears, which were covered by the curls of phase two, the sculptor hollowed out the undersides of the pieces attached over them (Winter [note 10], p. 144 and fig. 130c). This detail might be taken as amusing evidence that it was the original sculptor, reluctant to destroy his own work, who carried out the modification.
24. The head of Herakles with portrait-like features on a Pergamene coin, thought to be a likeness of Attalos I, is not unlike the Berlin head. See C. Böhringer in *Pergamon,* exh. cat. (Ingelheim am Rhein, Apr. 24–June 4, 1972), M 29; idem, *Zur chronologie mittelhellenistischer Munzserien 220–160 v. Chr.* (Berlin, 1972), pp. 41ff., 132ff.; F. S. Kleiner, *MusNotAmNumSoc* 17 (1971), p. 98, XI-L-32.
25. Study of pottery found in the chambers of the foundations of the altar have led recent scholars to consider a date in the 160s for the beginning of work. The suggestion was first made by P. J. Callaghan, *BICS* 28 (1981), p. 115. T.-M. Schmidt ("Der späte Beginn und der vorzeitige Abbruch der Arbeiten am Pergamonaltar," *Phyromachos-Probleme, RM-EH* 31 [1990], p. 141ff.) finds further ceramic evidence to uphold this point of view and because of iconographic considerations dates the beginning of the work after the Macedonian War of 172–168 B.C., in which Pergamon and Rome were victorious allies. Since the building as a whole was dedicated by Eumenes II, Callaghan suggests that the exterior work must have been essentially complete by his death in 159 B.C. C. Börker has summarized and evaluated current opinion in *Akten des XIII. internationalen Kongresses für klassische Archäologie Berlin 1988* (1990), p. 591f. For him, a date for the beginning of the work around 165 is corroborated by new evidence on the ceramic finds as well as by architectural considerations; in his opinion, work continued after Eumenes' death in 159, under the "Philadelphos" Attalos II.
26. Himmelmann (note 14), p. 137f., figs. 52, 3, 5. Hiller (note 16) considers the coin portrait a basis for identifying both the Berlin head and the Terme ruler as Eumenes II. Smith (note 16), p. 80: "Eumenes II's coin portrait is known and does not match." B. Andreae ([note 16], no. 36) sees only a family resemblance.
27. Kunze ([note 12], p. 123ff.) suggests the twenty-year time span proposed by earlier scholars for work on the frieze could have been much shorter. In this case, however, a still larger group of sculptors, all competent in the required techniques and manner, would have had to be available. See H. Kähler (note 11), p. 142ff., for the older opinion that work on the Gigantomachy might have continued throughout the years between the terminus post quem of the establishment of the festival of Athena Nikephoros, mentioned in the altar's dedicatory inscription, in 181 B.C. and the death of Eumenes II.
28. G. Dontas (note 16).
29. Winter (note 10), cf. nos. 132, 133, 137. See G. Hübner in *Altertümer von Pergamon* XV, 1 (1986), p. 129ff., for an up-to-date view of later Pergamenian sculpture. Kunze ([note 12], p. 138f.) maintains that the difference between the Telephos frieze and the Gigantomachy is essentially one of category rather than date and that the two were made close together in time. If made at the same time, the two would have to be by different teams of sculptors, and if made consecutively by the same sculptors, the two friezes necessarily represent different phases in these artists' work.
30. National Archaeological Museum, Athens, no. 3266. S. Karouzou, *National Archaeological Museum Collection of Sculpture* (Athens, 1968), p. 176.
31. Smith (note 16), no. 22, pl. 17; Himmelmann (note 14), p. 207ff., no. 5; G. M. A. Richter, *The Portraits of the Greeks,* vol. 3 (London, 1965), p. 273, figs. 1910–16. See U. Westermark, *Das Bildnis des Philetairos von Pergamon* (Stockholm, 1961), for coin portraits of Philetairos; p. 49f. on varying opinions as to the date of the original of the Herculaneum bust. Cf. Queyrel (note 12), p. 138 no. 294, for the convincing identification of a head from Pergamon in Boston as Philetairos; the head seems related in feeling to the early likenesses rather than the Papyri bust.
32. Cf. Hiller (note 16), p. 250. He sees the Naples bust as reflecting a new edition of Philetairos' portrait, though one which, on the basis of a comparison with coin die V, LXXXV ff., he dates to the reign of Attalos I. To the present author, no one coin portrait of Philetairos is directly comparable to the Naples bust, though there are signs of parallel idealizing tendencies within the series of coin portraits.
33. See Richter (note 8), vol. 2, p. 248ff., for the traditional view. See A. Stähli, "Die Datierung des Karneades-Bildnisses," *AA* 1991, p. 219ff., for a full replica series and discussion of the type.
34. See Stähli (note 33), p. 226 n. 7, and p. 228, for criticism of the often reiterated hypothesis, suggested partly by the Agora base, that Ariarathes and Attalos studied together in Athens.
35. Ibid., p. 225ff.
36. See ibid., p. 234ff. and Abb. 16–19 for the Ravenna bust; p. 232ff. and Abb. 3–15 for the Farnese bust, now lost but known from casts; and p. 240ff. and Abb. 28–31 for the Basel replica.
37. See H. B. Mattingly, "The Prytany Decree," *Hesperia* 17 (1948), p. 30f., cited by Stähli (note 33), n. 46, for a family tree of Sypalettoi in which the names Attalos and Ariarathes both appear during the relevant period. See Stähli, p. 223 n. 18, on the importance and relative rarity of portrait statues set up in the Agora at this time.
38. See Richter (note 8), vol. 3, p. 282, fig. 2020, for Poseidonios of Apamea (ca. 135–45 B.C.); vol. 1, p. 151ff., figs. 860–65,

867–68, for the Hellenistic portrait of Hippokrates. See Richter-Smith (note 8), p. 171f., figs. 132–33, for the portrait type, clearly a late Hellenistic creation, representing the fifth-century poet Panyassis of Halikarnassos.

39. École française d'Athènes, *Exploration archéologique de Délos* XIII; C. Michalowski, *Les portraits hellénistiques et romains* (Paris, 1932), p. 1ff., figs. 1–2, pls. I–VI. The head is now usually dated to late Hellenistic times; cf. J. J. Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 71, fig. 72.
40. The possibility has been suggested that this is the likeness of a nonroyal leader, a city dynast whose portrait would be in the "civic" tradition.
41. Smith (note 16), p. 46 n. 2. A. Linfert ("Bärtige Herrscher," *JdI* 91 [1976], p. 157ff.) speaks of the "Prätendentenbärte" worn by princes claiming the throne, a claim validated by the link with and mourning for a predecessor, as well as beards worn by semibarbarian rulers. Queyrel ([note 12], p. 104) rejects Linfert's "ruinous" thesis and maintains, more convincingly, that the bearded portrait is normally an indication that "le souverain est en guerre."
42. Smith (note 16), pl. 74, 16–17 (Prusias I, 230–182 B.C., and Prusias II, 182–149 B.C., of Bithynia); pl. 77, 9 (Mithridates III of Pontus, 220–185 B.C.); pl. 77, 10 (Pharnakes I of Pontus, 185–170 B.C.); pl. 77, 11 (Mithridates IV of Pontus, 170–150 B.C.); pl. 79, 4 (Flaminios, coin minted soon after 179 B.C.); p. 46, no. 2 (Achaios).
43. Smith (note 16), p. 46 n. 2, pl. 74, 9–10 (Philip V, 221–179 B.C.); pl. 74, 11 (Perseus, 179–168 B.C.).
44. H.-J. Schalles, *Untersuchungen zur Kulturpolitik der pergamenischen Herrscher im dritten Jahrhundert vor Christus,* Istanbuler Forschungen 36 (Tübingen, 1985), p. 47 n. 305; p. 112f. n. 673. P. Verzone, *TürkAD* 20 (1973), p. 199, fig. 4 (the Eumenes), was the only illustration available to the author; on this basis it is difficult to tell whether the likenesses were invented or whether they may transmit some reminiscence of genuine Hellenistic models.
45. Schalles (note 44), especially p. 149; Hiller (note 16), p. 250.
46. Schmidt (note 25), p. 152
47. See Himmelmann (note 14), p. 126ff., for the suggestion, already widely accepted. Only Dontas ([note 16], p. 230f.) has so far rejected the proposed identification and continues to support the traditional dating of the Terme statue to the second half of the second century B.C.
48. See Pollitt (note 39), p. 281ff., on Attalid patronage; E. V. Hansen, *The Attalids of Pergamon* (Ithaca and London, 1971), p. 284ff., on Attalid building outside Pergamon.
49. Andreae (note 16), p. 70ff.

A Self-Portrait by Jonathan Richardson

Jill Finsten

A *Self-Portrait* drawing by Jonathan Richardson the Elder (ca. 1665–1745), acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum in 1985 (fig. 1), brings us face to face with the most influential figure in the visual arts in early eighteenth-century England. Although unique in being the only self-portrait in the Getty collection, the drawing makes a rather modest first impression. Executed in black chalk with white chalk highlighting on blue paper, its simple contour lines and blunt, choppy parallel hatching suggest that it was made quickly and *ad vivum*. Richardson wears a soft, turban-like hat, white collar and stock, and black jacket and regards himself with a coolly appraising gaze. While he has taken some care with the area around his nose, mouth, and chin—with short black strokes for modeling the planes of his face and white highlighting for further emphasis—on the whole, his intention seems to have been to capture the essentials of his appearance with a minimum of fuss. This effect is further borne out by the broken contour lines in his hat and clothing, the shorthand manner of describing them, and the use of blank blue paper to serve as both form and mass.

The blunt descriptive shorthand and the simplicity with which the artist presents himself would seem to be at odds with Richardson's reputation for self-importance. By the time he made this sketch about 1735, Richardson was an internationally renowned writer, painter, connoisseur, and collector of old master drawings, and by all accounts had become rather grand. It was a long journey, however, from obscure but clearly humble origins. All we know of his youth is that he was born in London, probably in 1665,[1] that his father died when he was six, and that at age fourteen he was apprenticed to a scrivener by his stepfather. At age twenty he became the student of John Riley (1646–1691), a well-known London portrait painter. He married Riley's niece and eventually inherited Riley's estate, which included a collection of drawings. In 1711 he became a founding member of Sir Godfrey Kneller's academy. At Richardson's death in 1745, at age eighty, he was considered the preeminent portraitist of the age.[2]

However great his renown as an artist, it was eclipsed by his reputation as a writer and as a collector of old master drawings. His writings, especially the 1715 *Essay on the Theory of Painting* and the 1719 *Two Discourses: An Essay on the Whole Art of Criticism as it Relates to Painting* and *An Argument in Behalf of the Science of a Connoisseur,* were widely read and established him as the leading English authority on connoisseurship.[3] The publication in 1722 of *An Account of Some of the Statues, Bas-Reliefs, Drawings, and Pictures in Italy, France, &c.* further consolidated his position.[4]

More than his portraits or his writings, it is his collection of old master drawings that has earned Richardson his most durable renown as one of the greatest connoisseurs in the history of collecting.[5] After his death in 1745, the dispersal at auction of Richardson's art collection took eighteen evenings, each attended by a glittering array of aristocrats and connoisseurs. The choicest prizes of his collection—which also included paintings, prints, plaster casts, and models—were his 4,749 old master drawings.[6]

Richardson's collector's mark (Lügt 2183, 2184) on a drawing, then as now, adds significantly to its luster. Like Sir Peter Lely and the 2nd Duke of Devonshire in England, and Pierre Crozat and Pierre-Jean Mariette in France, Richardson was not only one of the great early collectors of drawings but one of the greatest drawings collectors of all time.

By any standards, his achievement was extraordinary. For an Englishman born into the artisan class, the trajectory of his life was without precedent. As Edward Croft-Murray observes:

> When we reflect that as a rule the painters of that time were barely educated as children, were early apprenticed to their trade, and subsequently

FIGURE 1 Jonathan Richardson the Elder (British, ca. 1665–1745). *Self-Portrait Wearing a Cloth Hat,* ca. 1735–36. Black chalk heightened with white chalk on blue paper, 30.3 x 23.1 cm (11 13/16 x 9 1/8 in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 85.GB.210.

> absorbed by their craft, in the company of their no better educated fellows, it is more remarkable that Richardson should have surmounted his conditions and environment and written his *Theory of Painting,* than that he should have been proud of those achievements and [that his pride would] have sometimes amused superior . . . wits from Westminster and Cambridge.[7]

Indeed, it would seem that his pride, in both his own achievements and in those of his son, made him the object of considerable scorn. The poet Matthew Prior suggested that a proposed joint effort be titled "The History of Myself and My Son Jonathan, with a Word or two about Raphael and Michelangelo by the way."[8] Other disapproving comments about Richardson's boasting make it clear that to many of his countrymen his ambition was ungentlemanly, his vanity that of a vulgar parvenu.[9]

The most astute, and complex, assessment of Richardson comes from Horace Walpole, who knew Richardson well (although he was only twenty-eight when Richardson died at the age of eighty). Walpole seems to be siding with the amused, superior wits when he describes Richardson as "a formal man, with

FIGURE 2 Jonathan Richardson the Elder. *Self Portrait Wearing a Cloth Hat.* Black chalk on blue paper, inscribed in the hand of Horace Walpole *24 June 1728* and *His son has written on the back Ubiscà vulgo x scenâ, in secreta remôret.* 44.2 x 29.5 cm (17 3/8 x 11 5/8 in.). London, British Museum BM ECM 1.

FIGURE 3 Jonathan Richardson the Elder. *Self-Portrait Wearing a Cloth Hat.* Ink over pencil on white paper laid down on card, inscribed in ink in an old hand *Richardson—drawn by himself* and in his own hand *15 Jan. 1735/6.* 16 x 11.5 cm (6 3/8 x 4 1/2 in.). London, National Portrait Gallery 3023.

a slow, but loud and sonorous voice, and, in truth, some affectation in his manner."[10] Referring to the Richardsons' 1722 *An Account of Some of the Statues, Bas-Reliefs, Drawings, and Pictures in Italy, France, &c.,* Walpole says that "between the laughers and the envious, the book was much ridiculed."[11] But he also notes that Richardson's writings are "full of matter, good sense, and instruction," and that it is only "superficial readers" who find their "quaintness of . . . expression, and their laboured novelty" amusing. Walpole argues that Richardson deserves credit for attempting to create a new verbal language for expressing "visual ideas."[12]

The inventiveness noted by Walpole extends well beyond Richardson's published treatises. It would seem that in the years 1728 to 1736, the last active decade of his life,[13] Richardson experimented with two new genres, one a body of poems, the other a large number of self-portrait drawings.[14] Walpole tells us that at the sale of Jonathan the Younger's estate in 1772,

> there were hundreds of portraits of both [father and son] in chalk by the father, with the dates when executed. For, after his retirement from business the good old man seems to have amused himself with writing a short poem or drawing his own or his son's portrait every day.[15]

Whether, indeed, there were ever "hundreds" of these portraits in chalk, we will probably never know. Although approximately 142 drawings in the sale catalogue are identified either as self-portraits or portraits of his son,[16] only twelve are listed as being in black chalk on blue paper. A much larger number (forty-nine) is identified as being executed in lead pencil on

FIGURE 4 Jonathan Richardson the Elder. *Self-Portrait,* October 1735. Black chalk heightened with white chalk on blue paper, 32.8 x 26.1 cm (12 7/8 x 10 1/2 in.). London, National Portrait Gallery 3779.

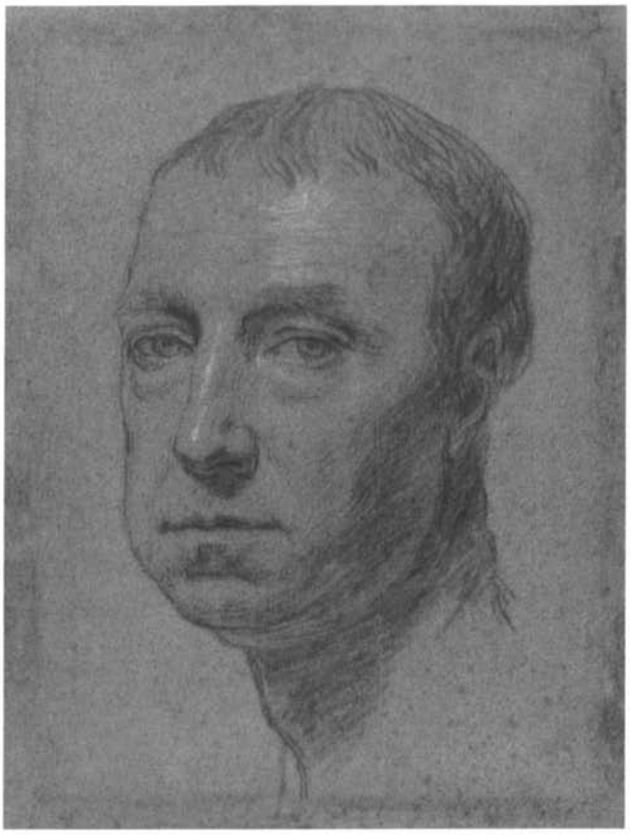


FIGURE 5 Jonathan Richardson the Elder. *Self-Portrait.* Red chalk heightened with white on blue paper, 35.7 x 27.3 cm (14 1/16 x 10 3/4 in.). New Haven, Yale Center for British Art B1979.5. Gift of Peter Arms Wick.

vellum. The largest number (eighty-one) do not have a support specified. This may mean that they were executed in pencil or chalk gone over in ink on paper, as this is the third medium in which Richardson recorded his own features.

Richardson typically presented himself in one of three personas: (1) the "virtuoso," or artist-amateur, wearing informal dress and soft hat (figs. 1–3, 6–7). This is the Getty type, by far the most numerous; (2) the formal, traditional Baroque type, in which he wears a wig (fig. 8); and (3) a natural type, with short hair (fig. 4). This type sometimes becomes an Augustan "philosophe" (fig. 5).

Both the earliest and the latest of the extant dated self-portrait drawings are of the Getty type. BM ECM 1 is dated June 24, 1728 (fig. 2),[17] and NPG 3023 (fig. 3) is dated January 15, 1735/36.[18] NPG 3023 was executed in ink and pencil on white paper, however, not in chalk. Its distinctive blunt, choppy strokes and their intended effect of creating deep shadow are closer in handling and spirit to the Getty drawing than any of the dated chalk drawings.

FIGURE 6 Jonathan Richardson the Elder. *Self-Portrait Wearing a Cloth Hat,* July 13, 1728. Black chalk heightened with white on blue paper, 45.3 x 29.7 cm (17 7/8 x 11 11/16 in.). London, British Museum BM ECM 2.

FIGURE 7 Jonathan Richardson the Elder. *Portrait Head of the Artist, Resting His Chin on His Left Hand,* ca. 1733. Black, red, and white chalks on blue paper, inscribed *Quod adest componere.* 45.3 x 30.9 cm (18 1/8 x 13 3/8 in.). New Haven, Yale Center for British Art B1977.14.4333. Paul Mellon Collection.

However, the last of the dated chalk self-portraits, NPG 3779, executed in black and white chalk on blue paper and dated October 1735 (fig. 4),[19] offers further support for a late date for the Getty drawing. Although even more extreme in its economy of means, NPG 3779 is, of all the dated chalk drawings, the closest in handling to the Getty drawing. (It is also the only one in which the subject actually looks like the seventy-year-old he was.)

A date of about 1735, therefore, seems likely for the Getty self-portrait. Several undated chalk drawings similar in technique to the Getty and National Portrait Gallery drawings should also be dated to the same time, among them, Yale B1979.5 in red chalk with white highlighting on blue paper (fig. 5).[20]

The drawings of 1735/36 are notable for their extreme simplicity of handling and a reticent, almost tentative quality very different from either the bold self-assurance of the drawings of 1728 or the elegance of those from around 1733. BM ECM 2 (fig. 6), dated July 13, 1728, is a good example of the former, Yale B1977.14.4333 (fig. 7), datable to 1733,[21] of the latter.

The two earliest writers on the subject assumed that Richardson's self-portrait drawings were preliminary studies for later paintings.[22] There are three extant self-portrait paintings by Richardson in which he is shown wearing a soft cap with white neck-cloth and necktie and black jacket, and of these one, NPG 706 (fig. 13), is dated, July 29, 1729.[23] Since the drawings date from 1728 to 1736, most of them, then, postdate the only known relevant painting.

A more compelling argument could be made for at least a few of the drawings being preparatory studies for prints. Richardson's printed images are of the

FIGURE 8 Jonathan Richardson the Elder. *Self-Portrait Wearing a Wig,* ca. 1728–30. Black chalk heightened with white on blue paper, 39.8 x 29.9 cm (15 11/16 x 11 3/4 in.). London, British Museum BM ECM 8.

same three types as the drawings, and two of the known print types are dated 1738 (figs. 9–10).[24] There are, additionally, two versions in which he wears a soft hat (figs. 11–12). Neither of these is dated or inscribed, but they, too, almost certainly postdate the drawings and are variants of them.

In any case, the number and variety of the drawings go far beyond the limited needs of the three or four basic print types. It would seem that a different explanation of their function is required.

Despite Walpole's firsthand observation that Richardson made the drawings "to amuse himself," only two scholars have hypothesized that they were made as ends in themselves, independent of either paintings or prints. In his important 1979 essay on English portrait drawings, Patrick Noon observes: "In the early eighteenth century, chalk was normally reserved for studies for, or copies after, portraits in oil; however, by 1735 [sic] Jonathan Richardson was making chalk drawings in two or three colors that are certainly entitled to consideration as finished statements."[25] And in 1989, George Goldner associated the Getty sheet with the "many self-portrait drawings by Richardson apparently made for their own sake."[26]

Noon and Goldner's assumptions about Richardson's self-portrait drawings are almost certainly correct. However, there is no precedent in England in the 1720s and 1730s for chalk portrait drawings as ends in themselves. At this early date, chalk was used only for preparatory studies. Finished, or presentation, portrait drawings were executed either in pencil on vellum or in pastel. It was only later in the century that chalk came to be used for finished or presentation portrait drawings.[27]

If Richardson's many chalk self-portrait drawings were indeed made as ends in themselves, was Walpole correct in ascribing to them no deeper purpose than the "amusement," that is, the pleasurable pastime, of an elderly man? If by "amusement" Walpole meant that Richardson made these drawings as a gentleman, with no thought of commerce or financial gain—and indeed, he explicitly notes that they were made "after his retirement from business"—then the answer is yes, they were a gentleman's amusement.

However, for Richardson amusement meant something more complex than it means today. He and his son actually tell us his intentions quite clearly in *Morning Thoughts,* the poems written by the father between 1732 and 1736 and published with commentary by the son in 1776.[28] The poems, dated to the day, and even in a few cases to the hour, were made during

FIGURE 9 Jonathan Richardson the Elder. *Self-Portrait Wearing a Wig,* 1738. Etching. London, Courtauld Institute of Art.

FIGURE 10 Jonathan Richardson the Elder. *Self-Portrait,* 1738. Etching. London, British Museum.

FIGURE 11 Jonathan Richardson the Elder. *Self-Portrait Wearing a Cloth Hat.* Etching. London, British Museum.

FIGURE 12 Jonathan Richardson the Elder. *Self-Portrait Wearing a Cloth Hat.* Etching. London, British Museum.

FIGURE 13 Jonathan Richardson the Elder. *Self-Portrait.* Oil on canvas, dated July 29, 1729, 73.7 x 62.9 cm (29 x 24 3/4 in.). London, National Portrait Gallery 706.

the same years as the self-portrait drawings. And it is clear that Richardson thought of his poems and self-portrait drawings as interchangeable, as twin aspects on a continuum of "visual language." Thus, he says his poems are like "sketches in drawing,"[29] and indeed, they are self-portrait sketches.

Jonathan the Younger calls the poems "a present to mankind, of an exact picture (from life, every stroke of it) of a truly happy man, happy on the only true principles of human happiness, virtue and temperance."[30] "Drawn accurately (and always short) from the life itself, as it appeared before him," their purpose is to "delight, improve, and teach."[31] Jonathan the Elder himself says his poems are "a glad sacrifice to God"[32] and that they are meditations on his own soul, meant for the edification of his son, and for those who come after:

> Some . . . may peradventure these my pictures view
> For here, alone examining my breast,
> Are my Soul's lineaments with care exprest,
> What will they say?—I neither know nor fear,
> So will they learn from them to be sincere,
> So will they learn (rememb'ring well, that me
> They too must follow) what they ought to be.[33]

Horace Walpole well understood that Richardson was offering himself as an *exemplum virtutis* in these poems, but he stops short of making a parallel with the self-portrait drawings of the same period. After reading the poems, Walpole says:

> It is impossible not to love the author, or not to wish to be as sincerely and intentionally virtuous [as he]. The book [*Morning Thoughts*] is perhaps more capable of inspiring emulation of goodness than any professed book of devotion.[34]

But Richardson says clearly that it is through the "depiction of his Soul's lineaments"—that is, his own portrait—that he hopes others will learn "to be sincere," to "be what they ought to be."

That the aged Richardson should hope to inspire others by the example of his own image makes perfect sense, not only because, in his son's words, "His whole life was one continued attention to the performance of what he understood to be his duty, both to God and man,"[35] but also because he believed passionately in the power of portraiture to inspire and motivate.[36] That he should choose the sketch as his preferred medium also makes sense, given his long-standing conviction that it was the sketch—as distinct from the finished drawing—which was the very highest form of artistic expression.[37]

But I believe that the sketch had even deeper meaning for Richardson. When, in 1736, he makes a reference to his poems as "artless songs," he aligns himself with advanced literary developments in England, in which "artlessness" is the language of sincerity, honesty, piety, and virtue. The extreme sketchiness of the Getty sheet, and of the other drawings of 1735/36, could and I believe should be seen as the visual equivalent of the "artless" language of the *Morning Thoughts*.[38] Horace Walpole argued that Richardson deserved credit for attempting to create a new verbal language for expressing "visual ideas." Here, in these self-portrait sketches, and particularly those of about 1735, he created a visual language based on advanced literary ideas.

Thus, when Matthew Prior refers to his "verse little polished, thô mighty sincere,"[39] or Joseph Addison calls one of his own works a "plain simple copy of Nature, destitute of all the Helps and Ornaments of Art,"[40] they might equally be describing Jonathan Richardson's Getty self-portrait.

In the end, this "plain, simple Copy of Nature, destitute of all the Helps and Ornaments of Art," should be seen as an eloquent memorial to a man whose wish that he be remembered simply as "a painter and a gentleman" was, in fact, as extraordinary as the man himself.

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NOTES

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In the notes that follow, all references to *Morning Thoughts* are to the edition published in London in 1776. George Vertue's notebooks were published by the Walpole Society between 1929 and 1950. In the notes that follow, references are made to individual volumes of these notebooks.

1. George Vertue, who was a friend of the artist, says that Richardson was eighty when he died on May 28, 1745; thus he would have been born in 1665. The passage is worth quoting in full (Vertue III, p. 125):

   > Tuesday May 28, 1745, died Mr. Jonathan Richardson a portrait painter of famous reputation in his Art & of the first class in his Time. he was a man of Quick & lively spirits. diligent studious and of loud elocution. lov'd exercise & walking much in his later days. growing feeble—some years before his death he had a paralitick fitt, that weakened his right hand, for which he went to the Bath he usd in a Coach to go from Queens Square (at his house) to St. Jamess park to walk for an hour or two. with his son or his daughter—and return back to his dinner—this he did to his last, the day he dyd. as soon as he returnd home sat down in his chair. and made his exit. Aetat. 80 . . . this was the last of the Eminent old painters. that had been contemporaries in Reputation—Kneller Dahl. Jarvis & Richardson for portrait painting.

   However, Richardson's son, also named Jonathan, in two addenda to *Morning Thoughts,* wrote: "My dear father was born Jan. 12, 1666" (Poem XXVI, p. 42) and "He was born the 12th of Jan. 1667" (Poem XLIV, p. 209). Since the past and coming year were often used in writing a January date, his son could have meant that Richardson was born either in January 1665/66 or January 1666/67.
2. His clients had included the most important political and literary figures of the day, many of whom he also counted as friends. His close friendship with Alexander Pope, commemorated in hundreds of portraits of the poet, ended only with Pope's death in 1744.
3. *Two Discourses* was revised and reissued in a 1725 edition in London. In 1773 all three essays were published in London in a single volume, *The Works,* edited by Jonathan the Younger. In 1792, *The Works* was incorporated as a supplement to Horace Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting* with a dedication to Sir Joshua Reynolds, who had long acknowledged his debt to Richardson.
4. *An Account* was compiled from notes made by Jonathan the Younger on his 1720 tour of the Continent and edited by his father. It was the first English-language guide to works of art

in Italy and retained its authority until well into the nineteenth century. Winckelmann, in the preface to his *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums* (Dresden, 1764), deemed it "still the best book on the subject" (*DNB*, p. 1124). In 1728, a three-volume French translation of the *Theory of Painting, Two Discourses*, and *An Account* was published in Amsterdam. In addition to their writings on art, the Richardsons published, in 1734 in London, their massive *Explanatory Notes on Milton's "Paradise Lost."*

5. Frits Lügt pronounces Richardson "the preeminent English collector of drawings of the early eighteenth century" (*Les Marques de Collections* [Amsterdam, 1921], p. 407). In Lügt's opinion, Richardson was able to triumph over his competitors, most far richer than he, because of his superior eye. Richardson was also instrumental in forming the important drawings collections of the 2nd Duke of Devonshire, Lord Somers, and the Earl of Pembroke, among others.
6. The figure was almost certainly higher. Walpole says that "after the son's death in 1771, the remains of the father's collection was sold." *Anecdotes of Painting in England,* edited by J. Dalloway (London, 1876), vol. 2, p. 277.
7. E. Croft-Murray, notes for his "Catalogue of English Drawings in the British Museum," vol. 2, which would have included all the Richardson drawings in the British Museum and which remained unfinished at his death; unpublished ms., pp. 5–6, National Portrait Gallery Archives.
8. Quoted in W. Whitley, *Artists and Their Friends in England, 1700–1799* (London, 1928), p. 98. Vertue is the source of another anecdote about Richardson's unseemly vanity. When Andrew Hay, the picture dealer, told Richardson that Father Orlandi was publishing a book about famous artists past and present, Richardson pressed upon Hay "such a long Epistle of his own perfections, His son's Qualifications, and his daughters and his collection," that Hay was ashamed to present it to Orlandi and instead himself wrote the brief note that Orlandi used in *L'Abecedario Pittorico* (Venice, 1753). Vertue III, pp. 13–14.
9. A scurrilous contemporary cartoon pokes fun at both the old artist's pretensions and his dependence on his son's erudition. For a contemporary's account of the print and its probable connection to Hogarth, see R. Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works* (New Haven, 1965), vol. 1, pp. 314–15; vol. 2, fig. 337. Walpole ([note 6], vol. 2, p. 276) too says that the spoof originated with Hogarth. The etching's title is *The Complicated R———n*; its caption reads: "I know well enough my eye is no eye at all I must apply my telescope. My son is my telescope tis by his help I read ye learned Languages." Both title and caption refer to Richardson's (unfortunate) preface to the *Explanatory Notes on Milton's "Paradise Lost"* published in London in 1734 (p. cxli):

   > My son is my Learning, as I am That to Him which He has Not; We make One Man; and Such a Compound Man (what Sort of One Soever He is) whom We make May Probably, produce what no Single Man Can. When, therefore I in my own Person talk of Things which in my Separate Capacity I am known to be a Stranger to, let me be understood as the Complicated Richardson.

10. Walpole (note 6), vol. 2, p. 275.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid., p. 275. Richardson deserves further credit for "illuminating the subject by new metaphors or bolder figures than ordinary." Ibid., p. 276.
13. Vertue (Notebook II, p. 125) tells us that some years before his death, Richardson suffered a stroke which affected his right arm. There are no dated self-portraits after January 1735/36. However, a chalk drawing of his son, BM ECM 11, bears the date *29 Jan. 1741*. This date, written in ink, is in Walpole's hand.
14. The poems were published posthumously in 1776. The portrait drawings were made public only posthumously when they were dispersed at Richardson the Younger's estate sale in 1772.
15. Walpole (note 6), vol. 2, p. 277. The sale took place on February 5, 1772, and the seven nights thereafter. Of the more than one thousand drawings by Jonathan the Elder, approximately 142 were described as self-portraits or portraits of his son. Since only twelve were specifically identified as being in black chalk on blue paper, Walpole's remark about "hundreds of self portrait drawings in chalk" is perplexing. Since he was a buyer at this sale, he was certainly aware of the other media. Indeed, of the eighty-two Richardson drawings in various media now in the collection of the British Museum, thirty-nine came from Strawberry Hill.
16. The number is impossible to establish with precision, as the self-portraits are not clearly specified. Most of the entries read "4 drawings of himself and his son," for example, or "8 drawings of himself and others." I estimate a total of about 142, but John Kerslake puts the number much lower, reckoning a total of 102 (*Early Georgian Portraits in the National Portrait Gallery* [London, 1977], vol. 1, p. 229). To complicate matters further, it is sometimes difficult to tell whether it is the father or the son who is represented, especially in the profile portraits.
17. Richardson's drawings in the British Museum were numbered by Edward Croft-Murray (ECM 1–82), in preparation for a second volume of the "Catalogue of Drawings in the British Museum" that remains unpublished. ECM 1–10 are chalk self-portraits, six dated between 1728 and 1735/36. ECM 10–18 were evidently thought to be chalk portraits of his son. However, ECM 9 is not autograph (it is possibly by Arthur Pond), and ECM 14 is so badly damaged as to be illegible. It may be a reverse offset drawing of NPG 1693 (see Kerslake [note 16]). ECM 19–82 are mostly portraits of great men past and present, or sketches by Richardson after the works of other artists. They are executed in the three media used for his self portraits.
18. Kerslake (note 16), vol. 1, pp. 229–30; vol. 2, pl. 679.
19. Kerslake (note 16), vol. 1, p. 229; vol. 2, pl. 683.
20. Also dating from around 1735/36 are National Gallery of Scotland 503, in red and white chalk on brown paper, Yale B1977.14.5460, and Fitzwilliam 888, both black and white chalk on blue paper, and a drawing sold at Sotheby's on March 16, 1978, lot 24, in black, white, and red chalk on blue paper.
21. On the basis of its dated companion portrait of his son, Yale B.1977.14.4332, of Aug. 29, 1733.
22. C. Collins-Baker calls them "auxiliaries to the more important business of picture-making" in "Some Drawings by Jonathan Richardson in the Witt Collection," *Connoisseur,* Dec. 1925, p. 195. G. W. Snelgrove calls the chalk drawings "rough, unfinished sketches" and cites Collins-Baker's authority for the assertion that they were "preliminary drawings for more finished portraits on canvas." "The Work and Theories of Jonathan Richardson," Ph.D. diss. (University of London, 1936), pp. 182–83.
23. The inscription on NPG 706 continues *22 Jan./Feb. 27 (or 17),* but there is no change in the year, 1729. See Kerslake (note 16), vol. 1, p. 228. A very similar painting, showing a somewhat portlier Richardson, is in the Lindsay collection, Colstoun

(illustrated in Kerslake, vol. 2, pl. 674). A third version of this type, in which Richardson looks much younger, was recorded as inscribed *Aetat 50/1717* but has not been seen for many years (Kerslake, vol. 2, pl. 673). The fourth known oil portrait, in which Richardson wears a wig and a hat, is at Polesden Lacy (Kerslake, vol. 2, pl. 678) and is undated. One of these may be the painting which Vertue saw at Jonathan the Younger's house in 1751 and described as "a half-length Genteel. Gentleman-like natural action and habit." Vertue Notebook III, p. 159.

Several pencil-on-vellum self-portrait drawings were made long after the paintings on which they were based. BM ECM 27 is inscribed verso *Painted abt May 1692. 31 Jan. 1734/5;* Huntington 63.52.202 is inscribed verso *painted abt 1707.* Although undated, this drawing, too, almost certainly dates from the mid-1730s, i.e., almost thirty years after the painting it was based on.

24. F. O'Donoghue, *Catalogue of Engraved British Portraits in the British Museum* (London, 1912), p. 573. O'Donoghue characterizes the three types with admirable simplicity as "in cap, in wig, and without wig." He lists five known self-portrait etchings by Richardson, four of which are illustrated here as figures 9–12. The fifth is like figure 9, but without an inscription.
25. P. Noon, *English Portrait Drawings and Miniatures,* exh. cat. (Yale Center for British Art, 1979), p. xi. Later, however, Noon recants (p. 25):

    > The near life-size study of the head was uncommon in England prior to its popularization by Kneller, Dahl, and Jonathan Richardson. Although drawn from life . . . such drawings were not intended as finished portraits. They represent a preliminary stage in the process of portrait painting and were usually the models from which the artist painted the features of his sitter.

    R. Wark (*Early British Drawings in the Huntington Collection, 1600–1750* [San Marino, Ca., 1969]) publishes that institution's two Richardson self-portrait drawings in pencil on vellum but does not discuss their function. In his introductory essay, however, he notes that it is only in the "late eighteenth century" that "the drawing . . . shifts from preparatory study to a complete, self-contained work of art" (pp. 6, 40). Kerslake (note 16) does not discuss function either, although his study is otherwise the most comprehensive of all published accounts of Richardson's drawings.
26. G. Goldner, *European Drawings I, Catalogue of the Collections, J. Paul Getty Museum* (Malibu, 1988), cat. 147, pp. 326–27.
27. Richardson, of course, would have been well aware that chalk had been used in Italy and Germany for finished drawings since the early sixteenth century.

    An intriguing, possibly relevant suggestion was put forth by George Vertue in 1721 that black and white chalk be used for advanced drawing exercises by students in a proposed Academy. These exercises, wrote Vertue, would be inscribed with the date and the student's name, and one example left behind as "proof and testimony of his learning" (Notebook II, pp. 150–52). Noon ([note 25], p. xv) speculates that this might have actually been the practice in the contemporary academies of Thornhill and Vanderbank, which of course Richardson would have known.
28. Jonathan the Younger says that the first of the "Morning Thoughts" was written on September 4, 1732 (p. 258).
29. *Morning Thoughts,* p. 3.
30. *Morning Thoughts,* pp. 5–6.
31. *Morning Thoughts,* pp. 6–7. Elsewhere, with typically loving and hyperbolic enthusiasm, he refers to them as a "glorious daily philosophical and poetical history of his [father's] mind" (p. 258).
32. *Morning Thoughts,* Poem LX, "Imputed Goodness," Oct. 20, 1734, p. 84.
33. *Morning Thoughts,* Poem XLIV, "Use of my Writing," May 3, 1734, p. 62.
34. H. Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting in England* (London, 1782), pp. iv, 36–37.
35. *Morning Thoughts,* p. 5. But if he was discharging his duty to God and man, he was also creating his own memorial. Richardson's intention that his self-portrait drawings be understood both as *exempla virtutes* and monuments for posterity is borne out by the inscriptions on the prints of 1738 (figs. 9–10): *Me, as you find my Soul, Neglect or Love,/And Show by Virtue Virtue you approve* and *These features must in Silent Darkness Rot/No Reason why my Heart should be Forgot.*
36. Richardson's argument that portraiture be considered the equivalent of history painting was well known—and highly polemical. "I confine the Sublime to History, and [to] Portrait-Painting," Richardson wrote in 1719 (*Two Discourses,* p. 34). A portrait can inspire others (p. 13):

    > To sit for one's Picture is to have an Abstract of one's Life Written, and published, and ourselves thus consigned over to Honour, or to Infamy . . . Methinks 'tis rational to believe that pictures of this kind [serve] Virtue; that Men are excited to imitate the good Actions . . . of those whose Examples are thus set before them.

    Richardson's exalted opinion of the role of portraiture was by no means universally accepted. The Earl of Shaftesbury expressed the widely held opinion that portraiture should be deleted altogether from the canon of true art, for

    > Tis an abuse of real art . . . requiring no liberal knowledge, genius, education, converse, manners, moral-science, mathematics, optics, but merely practical and vulgar. Therefore not deserving honour, gentility, knighthood conferred (Glance at Sr. Kneller).

    (*Second Characters,* edited by B. Rand [Cambridge, 1914], pp. 134ff.)

    Shaftesbury notwithstanding, by the 1730s the commissioning, circulation, and display of portraits of illustrious men past and present was becoming a widespread popular phenomenon. Later in the century it would reach epic proportions, as Horace Walpole's own collection of 20,000 engraved heads attests. The 1735 Temple of Worthies at Stowe was a famous example in sculpture. Richardson himself created at least one such series in painting, a set of six paintings of eminent contemporary architects, painters, musicians, authors, sculptors, and mathematicians. (See H. Townsend, "The Ante-Room of a Georgian Library Adorned with Portraits as Limned from the Life by Jonathan Richardson," *The Spur,* Nov. 1916.) His drawings and prints of illustrious men, besides himself, can certainly be seen as part of this phenomenon. They would have been kept and displayed in albums, like his old master drawings, or given as friendship gifts. One of the latter, a sketch of the artist Sir James Thornhill, dated July 21, 1733 (BM ECM 50), is inscribed by an unknown hand: *Reader, if you do admire Virtue or Talent, share this Sketch by Richardson.*
37. As drawing is superior to painting, so the sketch is superior to

the finished drawing: "Drawings generally speaking are preferable to paintings. The grace, delicacy, and spirit in drawings is commonly much diminished when translated into painting." (*Two Discourses* [1719], p. 50.) Nor may the "spirit, fire, freedom, and delicacy" (ibid.) of a drawing be found in a painting. However, superior even to the finished drawing, indeed at the very pinnacle of art, is the sketch. For it is only in the "looseness and freedom" unique to the sketch that we may experience the "noble thought and vast spirit" of the artist (*Works* [1792], p. 64).

So far as we know, most of Richardson's old master drawings were technically sketches, that is, "loose and free" preparatory studies rather than finished presentation pieces, and this surely influenced his ideas about the supremacy of the sketch. Whether the self-portrait sketches by Guido Reni, Bernini, Rubens, and possibly Rembrandt, which we know he owned, were a factor in his own self-portrait sketches, must remain for now a matter of conjecture.

38. *Morning Thoughts,* Poem CXI, "Matter of Praise: To My Son," April 27, 1736, p. 156.
39. Richardson was acutely sensitive to the link between style and meaning. As early as 1719 he says that "In all Works of Art there is to be considered the Thought, and the Workmanship, or Manner of Expressing or Executing that Thought." (*Two Discourses,* pp. 98–99.)

That by 1735/36 "artlessness" was a conscious stylistic choice is borne out not only by the reference to his "artless songs" but also by the wonderful allusion to the "dishevelled locks" of his "undressed Muse" (*Morning Thoughts,* Poem CIX, April 2, 1736, pp. 152–53).

While the originality of Richardson's poetry has been noted by recent scholars, that of his drawings has not, nor has any link between the two been made. Roger Lonsdale observes:

> There is no place in conventional literary history of the Augustan age for verse of such simple directness and unself-conscious emotion. In its inward searching, as well as its simple language, it anticipates the romantic, subjectivist trend of later in the century.

("Jonathan Richardson's 'Morning Thoughts,'" in *Augustan Studies: Essays in Honor of Erwin Ehrenpreis* [Newark, Del., 1985], p. 191.) Another scholar delivers this backhanded tribute: "In its own incompetent way, it is poetry of a clearly revolutionary character." (L. Guilhamet, *The Sincere Ideal: Studies in Sincerity in Eighteenth-Century English Literature* [Montreal, 1974], p. 156.)

40. Quoted in Guilhamet (note 39), p. 126.
41. The ballad "Two Children in the Wood" of March 10, 1704. Quoted in Guilhamet (note 39), p. 127.

The Master of Getty Ms. 10 and Fifteenth-Century Manuscript Illumination in Lyons

Lynn F. Jacobs

In 1985 the J. Paul Getty Museum acquired Ms. 10, a book of hours datable to 1478 (the date cited in the book's Easter calculation), which was previously unknown to manuscript scholars. The work contains seventeen full-page illuminations, all by the same hand, and of a very high artistic quality. The illuminator's style is distinguished by loose and spontaneous brushstrokes, often used to depict refined brocade patterns, wispy curls of hair, and illusionistic statues within interiors and borders. The artist paints with a rich palette, creating figures with graceful draperies and poses that nevertheless show an understanding of space and volume. One of the master's greatest strengths is the remarkable sense of atmosphere and breadth achieved in his landscapes; these landscapes often include bodies of water dappled by reflections from above, or by waves created with extremely delicate applications of white.

The naturalism and grace of this illuminator's style, though impressive in themselves, are particularly notable given that the work appears to have been produced in Lyons, a little-studied center of French illumination. Unfortunately, Getty Ms. 10 cannot be localized to Lyons on the basis of textual evidence: its calendar is international in character (with a number of Bruges/Ghent saints in red),[1] and its "Obsecro te" prayer has only weak agreements with texts from Lyons.[2] However, the Getty manuscript can be assigned to Lyons on the basis of the stylistic similarities between its illuminations and those of the best-known Lyonnais miniaturist of the third quarter of the fifteenth century, the Master of Guillaume Lambert. This master's identity was established only within the last fifteen years or so in the catalogues of Pächt and Thoss (1977) and of Plummer and Clark (1982),[3] and his oeuvre was expanded in more recent studies by Avril, Burin, and Hindman.[4] The key manuscript for defining the Lambert Master's style is the now-lost book of hours, Quaritch 47, dated 1484;[5] Plummer and Clark coined the illuminator's name on the basis of signatures of Guillaume Lambert, a Lyonnais scribe, found in this manuscript.[6] Besides Quaritch 47, scholars have now attributed some thirty manuscripts and leaves to the Master of Guillaume Lambert and his shop. These works actually include a variety of hands, which have not yet been fully differentiated, but the *horae* of Paris 3117, Rouen 3027, Morgan 83, and Vienna 2598 are generally seen as among the closest to the signature Quaritch manuscript.[7]

The recently discovered Getty manuscript is clearly related to the pictorial style of manuscripts illuminated by the Master of Guillaume Lambert. Most strikingly, the Getty miniatures all contain borders formed by prismatic gold frames decorated with illusionistic sculptured figures, which are the trademark of the Master of Guillaume Lambert. Such borders appear, for example, in the *Presentation* scenes of Getty Ms. 10 and Quaritch 47 (figs. 1–2). In addition, these two scenes have similar facial types (as can be seen in the white-bearded priest) and may have drawn elements—such as the circular baldachin and the turbaned woman—from the same, or related, shop patterns. So too, the *Annunciation* of Getty Ms. 10 and of another Lambert Master work, Paris 3117 (figs. 3–4), have a similar treatment of the Virgin and of the distant landscape and share an interest in lavish brocades. Such stylistic parallels are compelling enough to link Getty Ms. 10 to Lyons.

However, the Getty illuminations are not, I believe, by the hand of the Master of Guillaume Lambert himself. For compared to Getty Ms. 10, the draperies of Quaritch 47 and Paris 3117 appear simpler, the faces less refined. The female types of the Lambert Master have less modeling and more schematic features, so that they lack the volume and elegance of the women depicted in Ms. 10. Moreover, the landscapes within the Lambert works are not as spacious and atmospheric as those in the Getty work. Overall, the

FIGURE 1 *The Presentation.* Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 10, fol. 75.

FIGURE 2 *The Presentation.* Whereabouts unknown, formerly Quaritch 47, fol. 75v. Photograph from *A Catalogue of Illuminated and Other Manuscripts Together with Some Works on Palaeography Offered for Sale by Bernard Quaritch, Ltd.*, 1931.

Master of Guillaume Lambert's works appear to be of lower artistic quality than Getty Ms. 10. Such differences cannot represent the evolution of one hand, since the qualitative differences are significant, and only six years separate Getty Ms. 10 (1478) and Quaritch 47 (1484). Instead, these differences indicate that Getty Ms. 10 was painted by a heretofore unknown Lyonnais hand, not by the Lambert Master.

In this paper I will establish the beginnings of an oeuvre for this new master, the Master of Getty Ms. 10, and will examine his stylistic development and artistic sources.[8] In addition, I will place the Getty *horae* within a group of closely related manuscripts illuminated by the hand of another Lyonnais painter, the Rosenberg Master, and consider how this group relates to the works of the better-known Master of Guillaume Lambert. This study will attempt to present a more precise picture of the nature of late fifteenth-century illumination in Lyons than has been previously formulated. For it will endeavor to separate out from the large group of miniatures loosely associated with the name of the Master of Guillaume Lambert works that can be attributed to two other Lyonnais masters: (1) the Getty Master, responsible for Getty Ms. 10, two miniatures in Lunel Ms. 9, the frontispiece of the Paris *Défense de la conception immaculée de la Vierge,* and the *Rape of Lucretia* in the Chantilly Valerius Maximus; and (2) the Rosenberg Master, responsible for most of the miniatures in Lunel Ms. 9, Rosenberg Ms. 5, Rosenberg Ms. 6, Paris 18015, Badia di Cava Ms. 45, and Vatican Ms. 3780.[9] The process of defining these two artistic personalities will reveal that Lyonnais illumination attained a higher level of quality than was previously thought. Indeed, Getty Ms. 10 in particular provides evidence that Lyons, which has not been seen as an international center for

FIGURE 3 *The Annunciation.* Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 10, fol. 35.

FIGURE 4 *The Annunciation.* Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Nouv. Acq. Lat. 3117, fol. 22.

manuscript sales, attracted patrons from abroad, notably Italy. In this way manuscripts like Getty Ms. 10 foreshadow the importance of Lyons in the sixteenth century as an international book-publishing center.

THE OEUVRE OF THE GETTY MASTER

The hand responsible for the miniatures of Getty Ms. 10 is distinguished by the following stylistic features. His palette is marked by very deep tones, emphasizing ultramarine blues, burgundies, orange-reds, and yellow-greens, with the drapery often colored in gold shot with red-violet or pale purple shaded with dark purple. Crisp drapery folds are articulated with angular Y- or T-shaped strokes or—especially in the gold cloth—with straight lines ending in a dot (see fig. 16). The master creates shadows between the folds with loose and spontaneous parallel strokes, avoiding organized cross-hatching in order to achieve convincing folds even within brocaded cloth. The figure types are moderately elongated, with the women characterized by oval faces, cleft chins, and, frequently, a pearly white complexion that contrasts with the darker male flesh tones. Typically the master shades the right side of the female faces and emphasizes the shadows at the base of the neck and in the cleavage of the breasts (see fig. 3) to give the neck and chest a strong sense of volume. The men's faces usually have long noses, straight or diagonal eyebrows (which form a triangle), and mouths that turn down. Hair and beards are treated with extreme delicacy, either with very wispy curving strokes, so refined that one can hardly distinguish them, or with tiny parallel strokes. The landscapes include fluid washes with loose horizontal or diagonal lines on the ground and in the hills. Tiny

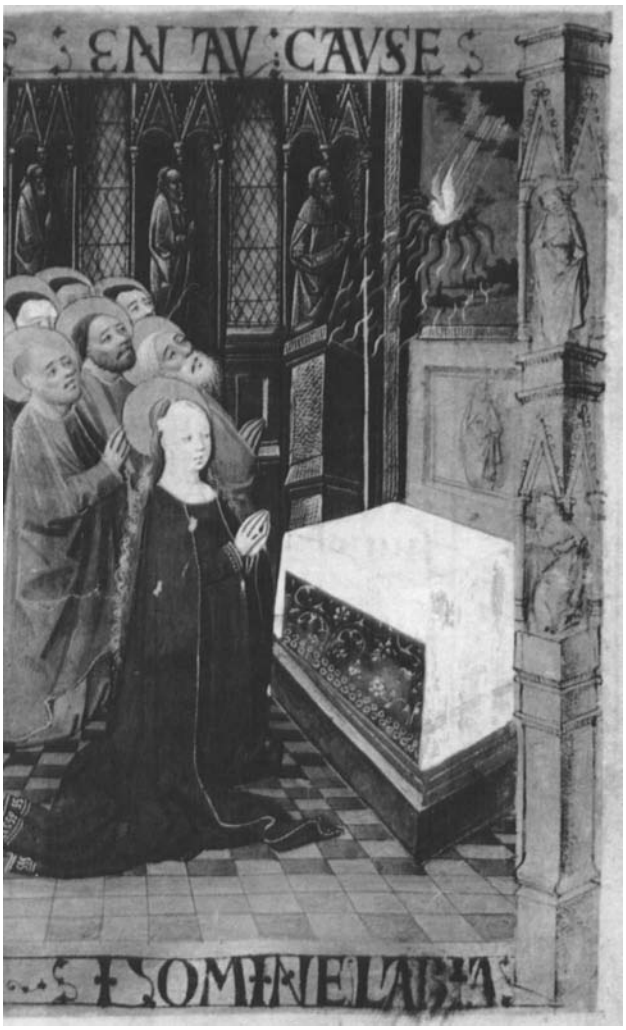

FIGURE 5 *Pentecost.* Lunel, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 9, p. 167.

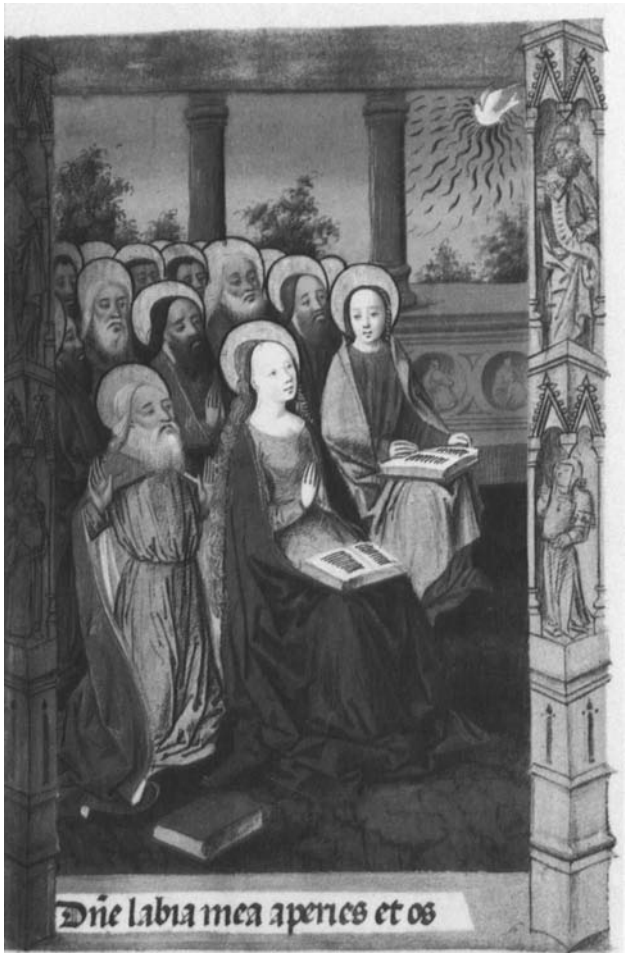

FIGURE 6 *Pentecost.* Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 10, fol. 31.

details within the landscapes—such as waves and reflections on the water, black silhouetted figures in the background, and touches of gold in the hills or on the trunks of trees—are rendered without rigidity or stylization. Despite a strong interest in exploring exterior space, the Getty Master is less concerned with defining interior space and generally provides fairly shallow depth for the interior scenes.

The same hand can be identified within three other manuscripts: a book of hours in Lunel (Ms. 9), the frontispiece of Pierre Thomas's *Défense de la conception immaculée de la Vierge* (B.N. Paris Ms. Fr. 989), and the *Death of Lucretia* page in volume 2 of the Valerius Maximus of Chantilly (Musée Condé, Ms. 834). Within the Lunel *horae* only two of the thirty-two miniatures can be attributed to the Getty hand.[10] In the first, the *Pentecost* (fig. 5), the face of the Virgin (despite some paint loss) is virtually identical to that in the Getty *Pentecost* (fig. 6); although compared to the Getty manuscript's women, the face of the Virgin in the Lunel page is not quite as pale, the neck and cleavage are modeled in the same manner, and the hair has the same delicacy of line. Also, the robe of the Virgin in the Lunel *Pentecost* is colored with the same strong blue found throughout Ms. 10, and its folds, though somewhat simpler, are formed with free and spontaneous lines of the same character and quality as the Getty work. The apostles behind the Virgin in the Lunel *Pentecost* do differ from the more sensitively modeled male faces of the Getty Master; also, the coloration of the male robes tends to be paler, and the drapery folds more schematic than in the Getty work. Nevertheless, such differences do not exceed the level of stylistic variation one might expect within any

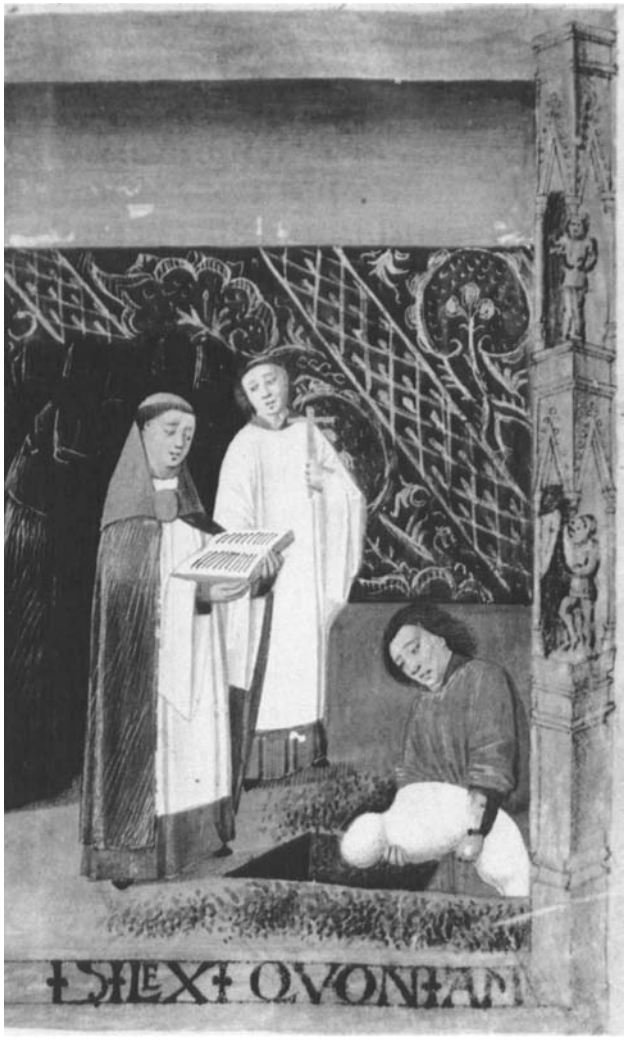

FIGURE 7 *The Burial of the Dead.* Lunel, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 9, p. 215.

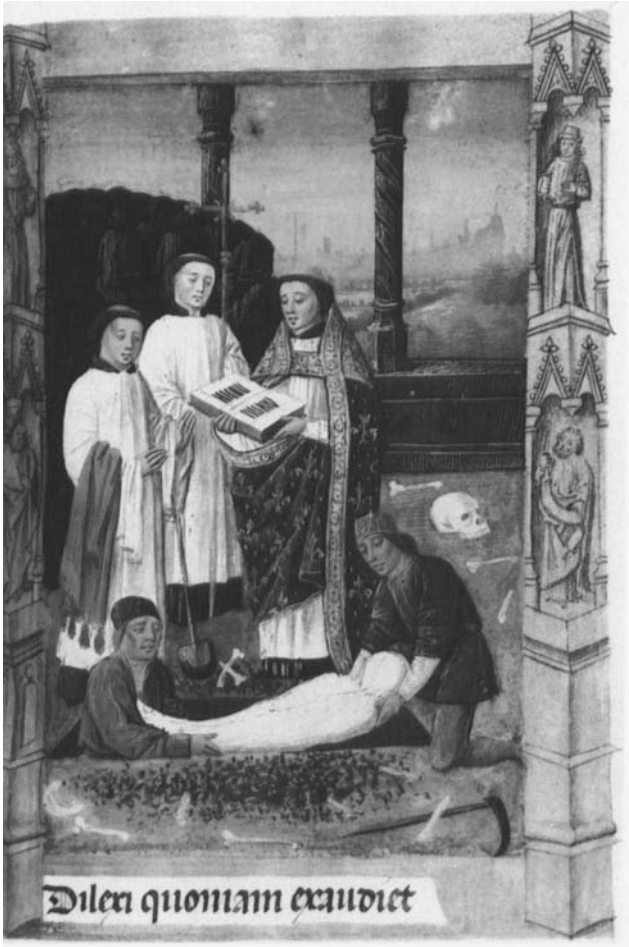

FIGURE 8 *The Burial of the Dead.* Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 10, fol. 116.

given artistic hand.[11]

A second page in the Lunel *horae,* the *Burial* scene (fig. 7), also appears to be the work of the Getty hand. Here the two priests are strikingly close to those in the same scene in the Getty hours (fig. 8) and show the same subtle modeling. Although the drapery of the figures is not as well handled, the strokes show the freedom of the Getty hand. The articulation of the robed figures behind the priests also shows a similar sketchiness. Moreover, the treatment of the ground with its green washes and dots of dirt is identical to the Getty work. But the background, in which a brocade replaces the luminous landscape of the Getty work, differs significantly from Getty Ms. 10: this brocade is painted with less refinement than the brocades of the Getty manuscript (see fig. 3) and could well be the work of an assistant. On the other hand, this treatment of the brocade could simply represent a wider range of stylistic expression within the Getty hand than is visible in Ms. 10.

The frontispiece of Pierre Thomas's *Défense de la conception immaculée de la Vierge* translated by Antoine de Lévis (fig. 9) also contains the hallmarks of the Getty Master's style.[12] The coloration of this scene—which shows Antoine de Lévis presenting his text to Jeanne de France—includes the strong blues, greens, and burgundies typical of Getty Ms. 10; the brocades and illusionistic sculptures are handled with the same refinement as in Getty Ms. 10. The female types are very similar to Getty Ms. 10, with clear definition at the bases of their necks and in their cleavage—compare, for example, the face of the Queen to that of Virgin of the *Annunciation* (fig. 3). Most significantly, Antoine de Lévis is clad in a robe that is rendered with the

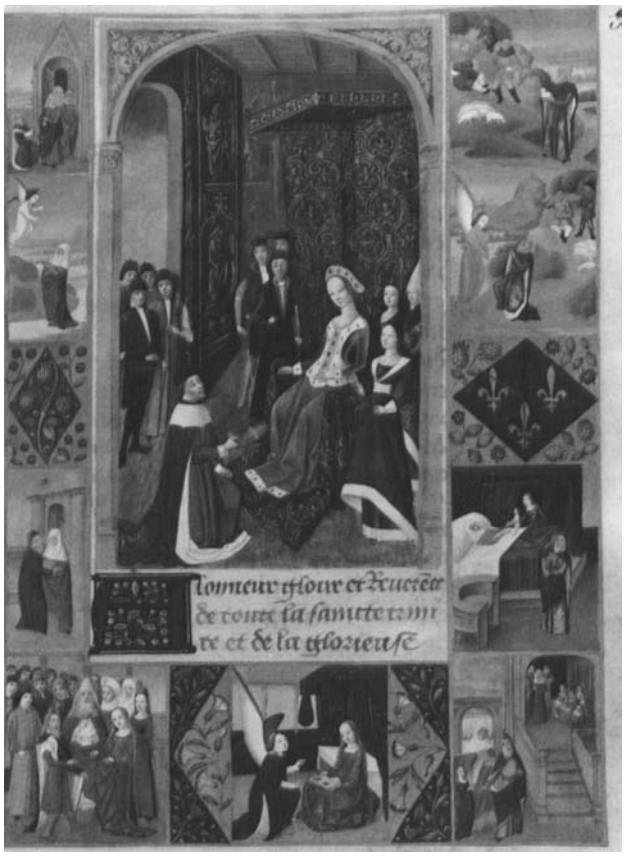

FIGURE 9 *Dedication Scene.* Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Fr. 989, fol. 3.

FIGURE 10 *The Death of Lucretia.* Chantilly, Musée Condé, Ms. 834 (314), fol. 88. Photo: Giraudon.

same assured strokes and with the distinctive color combination (pale purple shaded with dark purple) that are found in Getty Ms. 10 (see Joseph in the *Flight into Egypt* [fig. 28]). And furthermore, the gilded modeling of the Queen's robe is handled with the same sort of thin hatched lines that appear in the red cloak that Joseph wears in folios 63 and 78 of the Getty manuscript (figs. 13, 28).

Finally, the *Death of Lucretia* page (fig. 10) in the Chantilly Valerius Maximus can be attributed to the Getty Master—except for the suicide scene in the lower left corner, which is in a markedly different style and by a very different hand.[13] The figure of Lucretia as chastity in the upper left-hand corner duplicates the facial type of the Virgin in the Getty miniatures (see, for example, fig. 6) and has the distinctive Getty Master treatment of the neck and chest area. Also, the coloration of the three scenes (excluding the lower left) with their bright green tiles and gold, green, red, and blue robes parallels that of Getty Ms. 10. The brocades match the level of quality of those in the Getty *horae,* and the shading of the bed in the *Rape of Lucretia* section has the Getty Master's spontaneity of line. The drapery folds of the Lucretia scene are more disciplined, simpler, and more sculptural than those in Getty Ms. 10 but nevertheless seem well within the range of the Getty hand.

These three works, together with Getty Ms. 10, provide some evidence about the evolution of the Getty Master's style. The listing of 1478 in the calendar of Ms. 10 makes it the only securely dated work of the group. But the Lunel hours can be assigned a date on

the basis of patronage: Avril identified the coat of arms in the work as that of the de La Croix family from Montpellier and suggested that the initials *G* and *M* found on numerous pages refer to Geoffroy de La Croix and his wife, Philippe Marcel.[14] In this case, the book should date from the period of their marriage, 1492 to 1501, some fourteen or more years after Getty Ms. 10. Although the two Getty Master pages in the Lunel *horae* are very close in style to Getty Ms. 10, they show more disciplined lines and more sculptural drapery, particularly in the *Pentecost* page. This suggests that the Getty Master's style may have evolved from a freer toward a more controlled form of expression.

If so, the Paris frontispiece should be assigned to the earlier period of production. Couderc has dated Paris Ms. Fr. 989 to around 1460, based on her belief that de Lévis (who is portrayed in the dedication page) died around 1460;[15] however, Avril has discovered documents that indicate that de Lévis survived at least into the 1480s and perhaps into the 1490s.[16] So the work's terminus ante quem is 1482, the date of the death of the patroness, Jeanne de France. But given its freedom of expression and loose brushwork, the frontispiece appears to date to the time of, or slightly before, the Getty manuscript, that is, the 1470s. On the other hand, the Chantilly page, with its more controlled lines, may form part of the later work of this master, dating to the 1480s or 1490s, like the Lunel pages.[17] In this case, the high quality of painting, which distinguishes the *Lucretia* scene from all the other illuminations in this Valerius Maximus, would indicate that the Master's skills remained undiminished even in his later works.[18]

The main sources of the Getty Master's style appear to derive from the work of Jean Colombe, the prolific illuminator of Bourges, who was active from the 1460s until his death around 1493. Thus, for example, the face of Margaret in the *Margaret and the Dragon* of Colombe's Morgan 248 of about 1470[19] is noticeably like the faces of the women in the Getty manuscript (e.g., the Virgin of the *Nativity* [fig. 13]), and the landscape of the Saint Margaret page has rock formations and a sense of breadth similar to those in the *Flight into Egypt* (fig. 28). Many of the illuminations of Colombe's *horae* of about 1473 (Morgan 677) in particular are similar to those in Getty Ms. 10.[20] The structure of the landscape in Morgan 677's *Flight into Egypt* (fig. 11)—with rocks framing each side and the center opening into a distant space filled with castles, rolling hills, and silhouetted small figures—is strikingly similar to that found in the Getty's *Tobias and the*

FIGURE 11 *The Flight into Egypt.* New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.677, fol. 141.

FIGURE 12 *Tobias and the Archangel Raphael.* Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 10, fol. 186.

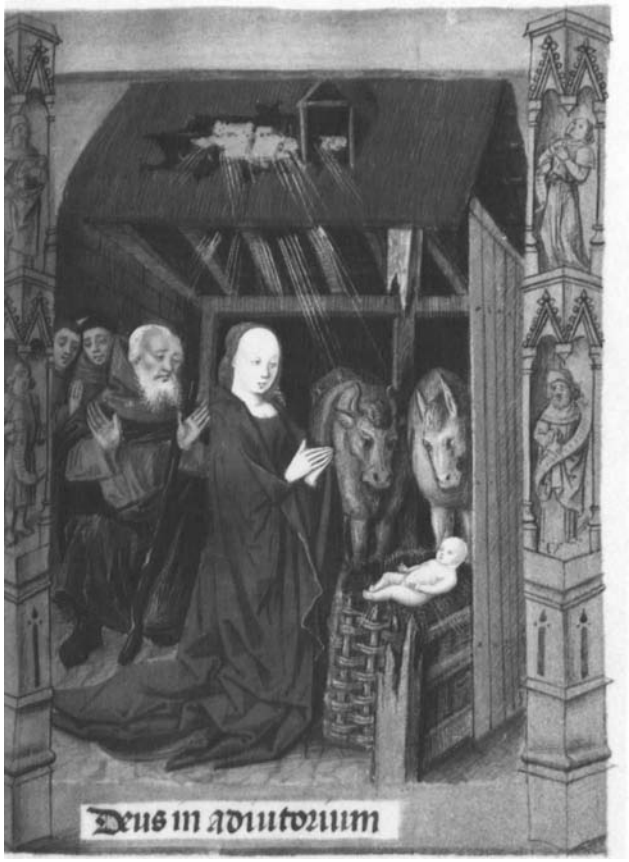

FIGURE 13 *The Nativity.* Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 10, fol. 63.

Archangel Raphael (fig. 12). Also significant are the compositional parallels between the *Nativity* scenes of M.677 and Ms. 10. The Getty scene (fig. 13) borrows a number of features from the Morgan miniature (fig. 14) in a reversed form: the pose of Joseph (with hands held open), the pose and figure type of Mary, the placement of Christ on the raised, woven-straw manger, and the positioning of the ox and ass directly behind the manger.[21] Furthermore, the *Virgin in Glory* of the Getty includes the motif of angels with folded arms found in Morgan 677; the Getty Master even portrays some angels viewed from behind, in a simplified version of the angel-from-behind depicted by Colombe.

The Getty Master's borrowings from Colombe, however, do not include the most distinctive Colombe mannerisms. For the Getty Master tends, by and large, to avoid Colombe's emphasis on profile views, foreshortened faces, crowd scenes, odd coloration, and perspective experiments. Moreover, although Colombe has been seen as the initiator of the sculptured border type,[22] the Getty manuscript raises questions about whether Colombe indeed was the source for the sculptured frames of Ms. 10; with its date of 1478, the Getty manuscript predates any known manuscript by Colombe that includes these frames.[23] While perhaps an early Colombe manuscript with this motif has been lost, the Getty Master could possibly have developed this motif himself.[24] Such independence from Colombe may indicate that any contacts between the Getty Master and Colombe took place fairly early in Colombe's career, probably in the 1460s or 1470s in Bourges before the emergence of Colombe's more exaggerated characteristics.[25]

In addition to these sources in Colombe, the Getty Master drew some specific motifs from Jean Fouquet, particularly his Hours of Etienne Chevalier. The *David in Prayer* (fig. 22) of the Getty work derives the pose of David and the placement of the spear on the ground from Fouquet's *David in Prayer* in the

FIGURE 14 *The Nativity.* New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.677, fol. 104.

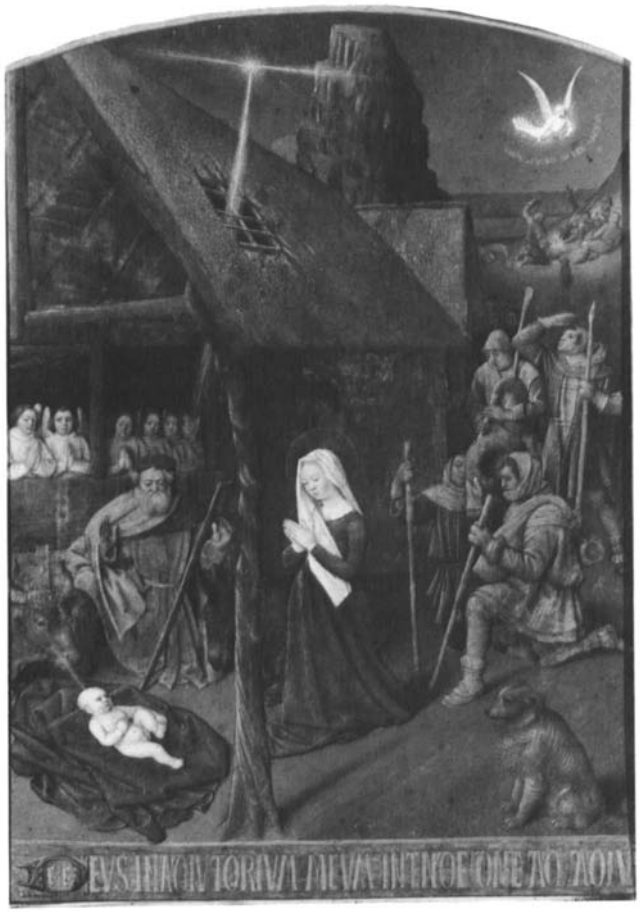

FIGURE 15 *The Nativity.* The Hours of Etienne Chevalier. Chantilly, Musée Condé. Photo: Giraudon/Art Resource, N.Y.

Chevalier hours.[26] Other motifs, which the Getty hours derives from the Hours of Etienne Chevalier, include, as Avril has noted, the grouping of two horses with one fully frontal and one arching its neck (in Fouquet's *Martyrdom of Saint James the Greater* and the Getty's *Crucifixion*).[27] Even the Getty Master's interest in creamy white facial tones for the Virgin Mary and the unusual emphasis on the nursing Madonna, seen in the Getty's *Madonna and Child Enthroned,* can be traced to a similar emphasis throughout Fouquet's works, as for example in the *Madonna and Child Enthroned* of the Chevalier hours.[28] Interestingly, a number of motifs that the Getty Master adopted from Colombe are ones Colombe took from Fouquet; for example, the cross-armed position of the angels (found in the Getty *Virgin in Glory* and Colombe's Morgan 677) is a feature that also appears in a number of scenes within the Hours of Etienne Chevalier. So too the pose of Joseph (with his open-hands position) in the Getty *Nativity* (fig. 13) is found in both the Chevalier hours and in Morgan 677 (figs. 14–15); the Getty Master repeats Fouquet's emphasis on the Star of Bethlehem shining through a hole in the roof—a motif not found in the Colombe version—though he turns the stable of the Nativity so that it is parallel to the picture plane, a device that is more in the manner of Colombe.

The Getty Master probably did not have a direct relationship with Fouquet, for he remains unaffected by Fouquet's Italianate qualities (surprisingly so, given that the Getty manuscript, as I shall argue below, was probably made for an Italian patron). Furthermore, the Getty Master limits his borrowings to individual motifs drawn from Fouquet, rather than incorporating a fuller range of stylistic features (such as the treatment of landscape and figure types), as he did from the art of Colombe. Nevertheless, the Getty Master does show a significant interest not only in Colombe but also in Fouquet's artistic inventions. Whether he was exposed to Fouquet's work in the Loire Valley as a

FIGURE 16 *The Visitation.* Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 10, fol. 52.

student of Fouquet's followers or in Bourges as a student of Colombe remains an open question.

The sources of the Getty Master's work were not limited to Colombe and Fouquet. The Getty Master also was influenced by an earlier generation of French illuminators, especially the Bedford Master, from whom he may have derived the motif of the second angel opening the curtains in the scene of the *Annunciation* (see fig. 3 and the Bedford shop's B.L. Add. 18850 fol. 32),[29] although the motif could derive instead from prototypes in Amiens.[30] In addition, the Getty Master was influenced to some degree by Flemish art, as can be seen in the *Visitation* of Ms. 10 (fig. 16), which is markedly similar in composition to the *Visitation* in Leipzig by Rogier van der Weyden.[31] So, too, the Getty *Saint Christopher* is based on a famous (now lost) composition of Saint Christopher by Jan van Eyck,[32] and some of the figure types, such as the angel in the scene of Tobias (fig. 12), are reminiscent of early Memling. These parallels, however, more likely result from the circulation of pattern books rather than from direct and sustained contact with Flemish art. A still-puzzling question is whether the Getty Master was influenced by more local stylistic tendencies: at present, no significant relationship between this master and earlier illuminators in Lyons can be detected.[33] But the Getty Master did have a Lyonnais contemporary with whom he evidently had a very close association, that is, the Rosenberg Master.

THE ROSENBERG MASTER

In the Lunel *horae* the Getty Master collaborated with another hand that can be identified as the Rosenberg Master. This hand was first distinguished by Plummer, who named it after two *horae* in the Rosenberg collection (Mss. 5–6) that contain illuminations marked by distinctive mannerisms, notably the depiction of an unusual pattern of dark blue waves in the sky to indicate a divine radiance and the use of yellow (or black) loops of paint to highlight (or darken) the bushes in the landscape—as, for example, in the *Annunciation to the Shepherds* of Rosenberg Ms. 5.[34] Such mannerisms appear as well within many of the miniatures in the Lunel hours (excluding the two by the Getty Master discussed above), as can be seen, for example, in the *Visitation* (fig. 17), with its yellow highlighting of the bushes.[35] Indeed, many of the Lunel pages are like those in the two Rosenberg manuscripts: the *Visitation* scenes of Lunel and Rosenberg Ms. 6 (fig. 17–18) and the *Presentation* scenes of Lunel and Rosenberg Ms. 5 (figs. 19–20) show close analogies in their figure types, composition, drapery, and treatment of space. Hence the Lunel and the two Rosenberg *horae* form a core group of manuscripts by the Rosenberg hand.[36]

These Rosenberg Master *horae* are closely related to Getty Ms. 10 in a number of ways. First, the three Rosenberg Master books generally have the same illustrative program as Getty Ms. 10, as is evident, for example, in the pairing of the Crucifixion with the Hours of the Cross, even though the Carrying of the Cross was an equally traditional choice.[37] Also, like Getty Ms. 10, the Rosenberg Master's works include prismatic borders with simulated sculpture and use a full-length compositional format often based on the same models as Ms. 10 (as is apparent in the *Presentation* scenes of Getty Ms. 10 and Rosenberg Ms. 5 [figs. 1, 20]). The Rosenberg figure types are similar to those in the Getty hours: for example, the Virgin of the Lunel *Presentation* (fig. 19) has the creamy facial tones

FIGURE 17 *The Visitation.* Lunel, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 9, p. 71.

FIGURE 18 *The Visitation.* New York, Rosenberg Collection, Ms. 6, fol. 50v.

FIGURE 19 *The Presentation.* Lunel, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 9, p. 124.

FIGURE 20 *The Presentation.* New York, Rosenberg Collection, Ms. 5, fol. 60.

and the well-modeled neck and cleavage so notable in the Getty work; moreover, the Virgin's drapery, like that in the Getty miniatures, falls in complex, angular folds (compare figs. 16 and 19). The Rosenberg Master also creates spacious landscapes in the manner of the Getty Master: the *David in Prayer* of the Lunel *horae* (fig. 21) depicts a path winding back toward a curving river that leads the eye into the misty blue far horizon and shows silhouetted figures in the background and reflections in the water, as in the *David in Prayer* (fig. 22) of the Getty manuscript. Clearly, then, the Getty and the Rosenberg Masters not only worked together but had closely related stylistic idioms.

Nevertheless, the separate identities of the two masters are apparent in their stylistic differences.[38] The Rosenberg Master's men tend to have thinner faces and more rubbery features, with wispier beards than their counterparts in the Getty work (compare figs. 21–22). And the women tend to have wider jaws and less delicate strands of hair, and they wear draperies that harden into sharper and more volumetric folds, without the spontaneous brushwork found in the Getty pages (compare figs. 16–17). The overall palette of the Rosenberg Master is fairly close to that of the Getty. But the Rosenberg Master does not often match the depth and brilliance of the Getty Master's palette and frequently uses pinker reds instead of the Getty's deep burgundies, with blonder rather than greener tones in the landscapes.

Moreover, the style of the Rosenberg Master does not appear to be as refined as that of the Getty Master. Thus, the Rosenberg Master's landscape in the *Flight into Egypt* of Lunel (fig. 23) appears schematic compared to that in the Getty Master's *Tobias and the*

FIGURE 21 *David in Prayer.* Lunel, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 9, p. 175.

FIGURE 22 *David in Prayer.* Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 10, fol. 97.

Archangel Raphael (fig. 12). The pool of water in the foreground of the Rosenberg Master's work looks flat and unconvincing compared to that in the Getty *Tobias* because it lacks the soft white waves on the surface and the reflections of the river bank found in the Getty scene. The Rosenberg Master defines the grass on the banks with stiff diagonal lines, unlike the washes of the Getty Master; and his method of depicting the path in a stiff zigzag formation and highlighting the bushes in yellow looks very artificial compared to the Getty scene. And in the river, where the Getty Master uses delicate strokes of white and pale colors to render waves and reflections, the Rosenberg Master uses harsh black lines for both the waves and the somewhat crudely depicted boats on the water. Nevertheless, the Rosenberg illuminator may not have been simply a less-gifted associate of the Getty Master, for this artist could well have been responsible for the illuminations in Paris B.N. Ms. Lat. 18015, an especially refined book of hours.

The Paris *horae* is an unusual work because of its predominant use of grisaille (with slight touches of color); for this reason it has never been associated with the Rosenberg hand.[39] Given its lack of color, the Rosenberg mannerisms of blue radiances and yellow (or black) dabs on the bushes are not visible in most scenes; however, the one colored scene depicting *Saint John on Patmos* does include black dabs on the bushes. And even the grisaille scenes include features similar to those in the Rosenberg Master, as can be seen in the *David in Prayer* of Paris 18015 (fig. 24), which resembles the David of Lunel (fig. 21), with its thin-faced, wispy-bearded David and its sculpturally rendered drapery. Similarly the *Virgin and Child Enthroned* of

FIGURE 23 *The Flight into Egypt.* Lunel, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 9, p. 132.

FIGURE 24 *David in Prayer.* Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Lat. 18015, fol. 111.

FIGURE 25 *The Annunciation and the Life of the Virgin.* Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Lat. 18015, fol. 31.

FIGURE 26 *The Annunciation and the Life of the Virgin.* New York, Rosenberg Collection, Ms. 5, fol. 22.

Paris 18015 includes drapery folds like those in Lunel, and arranges the interior scene with the same steeply tilted floor found in Rosenberg Ms. 6.[40] On certain pages, the Paris work is closer to the other Rosenberg collection work, Ms. 5: the *Annunciation and the Life of the Virgin* in Paris (fig. 25) is almost identical in its architectonic structure and composition to that in Rosenberg Ms. 5 (fig. 26), and the *Annunciation to the Shepherds* in Paris has the same semi-reclining figure and curled-up dog found in Rosenberg Ms. 5.[41]

But unlike the other Rosenberg Master works, Paris 18015 matches the Getty hours in its high level of quality, particularly in the treatment of landscape. Whereas the other Rosenberg manuscripts typically have more simplified and stiff landscape settings, the Paris landscapes, in pages such as the *David in Prayer* (fig. 24) and the *Flight into Egypt* (fig. 27), show a breadth of space, attention to detail, and sophisticated handling of reflection equal to those in Ms. 10 (e.g., fig. 28). And in several cases the Paris hours contains compositions that are closer to Getty Ms. 10 than the rest of the Rosenberg Master's works: thus, the *Flight into Egypt* scenes of the Paris and Getty hours (figs. 27–28) depict Joseph in identical (albeit rather traditional) poses, and most importantly with the same exact costume, down to the odd angle of drapery across the right shoulder.[42] The *Annunciation* scenes (figs. 3, 25) both include a second angel (in addition to the Virgin and Gabriel) who holds back the curtains around the baldachin—a rather unusual motif, particularly within Lyonnais illumination.[43] However, the extreme control of line and the sculptural drapery of Paris 18015 differ dramatically from the loose strokes and less volumetric drapery found in the Getty work.[44] In this way the Paris work is closer to the characteristics of the Rosenberg core works, albeit

FIGURE 27 *The Flight into Egypt.* Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Lat. 18015, fol. 84.

FIGURE 28 *The Flight into Egypt.* Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 10, fol. 78.

executed on a higher level.

In all these works the Rosenberg Master's style relates most closely to that of the Getty Master but also draws from the Getty Master's own sources, Fouquet and Colombe. Thus, for example, in the Lunel *Crucifixion,* the horsemen viewed from behind derive from Fouquet's *Crucifixion* in the Chevalier hours,[45] while the depiction of crowd scenes, profile views, and daring perspective effects in the Lunel and Rosenberg manuscripts show the influence of Colombe. The Rosenberg Master's dependence on Colombe is especially pronounced in the *Funeral Procession* scene of Rosenberg Ms. 5, which is almost completely based on a model from Morgan 677;[46] moreover, the *Nativity* of Rosenberg Ms. 5 borrows a very idiosyncratic feature from Colombe's Morgan 677, the depiction of the ox and ass viewed from behind in sharp foreshortening. The influence of Colombe—particularly his more eccentric features—thus appears to have been more significant for the Rosenberg Master than for the Getty Master. This suggests that the Rosenberg Master was a younger artist who could more fully assimilate the innovative features of Colombe.[47] If so, the Rosenberg Master should be seen as the student of the Getty Master and/or his best shop assistant. The possibility that the Rosenberg Master worked in a shop separate from the Getty Master is unlikely, given the fact that two additional Rosenberg Master works, one in the Vatican and one in Badia di Cava (an abbey in the southern Italian town of Cava de' Tirreni), form a remarkably close stylistic, iconographic, and textual unit with Getty Ms. 10.

THE BADIA DI CAVA AND VATICAN MANUSCRIPTS

The Vatican and Badia di Cava *horae,* which can be dated to 1478 and 1482 respectively (based on their Easter calculations), are both primarily illuminated by the Rosenberg Master.[48] The Vatican pages often include the standard Rosenberg-hand mannerism of placing blue radiances in the sky, and they have the

unusual arrangement of the page wherein the ground line is pushed forward in front of an illusionistic scroll bearing a few lines of text, as found in Rosenberg Ms. 6.[49] They also include female types similar to those in Rosenberg Ms. 6 (compare figs. 18 and 30). Thus, except for a somewhat sketchier presentation of the landscape and a lack of the distinctive yellow highlights on the bushes, the Vatican manuscript shows the main stylistic characteristics of the Rosenberg hand. So too the Cava de' Tirreni work is very close to the Rosenberg Master's work, particularly the *horae* in Lunel. The Cava manuscript consistently includes the trademark blue waves in the sky (if not the yellow highlighting of the bushes), and the miniatures have the yellower tonalities of the landscape (and even the zigzag paths) found in Lunel Ms. 9 and Rosenberg Ms. 5. The scenes of *David in Prayer* in both the Lunel (fig. 21) and Cava (fig. 29) manuscripts are remarkably similar in their compositions, in their facial type for David, and in their rather hardened drapery folds, although, as in the Vatican manuscript, the Cava landscape is treated in a sketchier manner. Moreover, the *Nativity* scenes of the Lunel and Cava manuscripts have similar figure types, draperies, and landscapes, and even the handling of the ox and ass is in a markedly similar manner.

The Vatican and Cava works may represent earlier productions of the Rosenberg Master. Dated 1478 and 1482, they show a greater sketchiness and freedom of line than are found in the Rosenberg pages of Lunel, which can be dated to about 1492. Indeed, even between the Vatican manuscript of 1478 and the Badia di Cava hours of 1482, there is some reduction or sketchiness and a tightening of line, as can be seen in the two versions of the *Annunciation* (figs. 30–31). The Rosenberg Mss. 5 and 6, like Lunel, show the formalized treatment of draperies and landscapes associated with the Master's later production; moreover, their greater exploration of space,[50] use of Renaissance columns in the borders, and expansion of crowd scenes appear to be characteristic of a later stylistic evolution. As a result, Paris 18015 can be placed among the later Rosenberg works, based on its similarities to Lunel and its use of classical columns to frame some of the scenes.[51]

The remarkable similarities between the Cava and Vatican works, on the one hand, and the Getty manuscript on the other, indicate that the Getty and Rosenberg Masters were working in very close association around the year 1480. This trio of works contains significant formal similarities, including a pre-

FIGURE 29 *David in Prayer.* Cava de' Tirreni, Badia di Cava, Ms. 45, fol. 109.

FIGURE 30 *The Annunciation.* Rome, Vatican Library, Ms. Lat. 3780, fol. 15.

FIGURE 31 *The Annunciation.* Cava de' Tirreni, Badia di Cava, Ms. 45, fol. 14.

dilection for brocades and illusionistic sculpture in the interiors (although both the Vatican and Cava works eliminate the illusionistic statues from their architectural borders). In some cases, scenes within the group are all derived from similar compositional models. No one manuscript in the group, however, appears to have been the model for the other two, since motifs are not shared consistently within the group. For example, the *Burial* scenes of the Getty and Cava works (figs. 8, 32) both include crossed bones on the ground (not found in the Vatican scene), while the Vatican (fig. 33) and Getty scenes both include digging implements and dirt on the ground (unlike the Cava version); on the other hand, the Cava and Vatican versions (figs. 32–33) include burial by one man, not by two as in the Getty. But though the works do not derive from one member of the group—instead they appear to derive from common models in the shop—they nevertheless are closely related in their compositions, figures, and motifs.

The group also shows striking similarities in iconographic program. The three *horae* have the same cycle of illuminations illustrating the Hours of the Virgin and depict the same themes accompanying the other main texts: Pentecost with the Hours of the Holy Spirit, the Crucifixion with the Hours of the Holy Cross, the Burial of the Dead with the Office of the Dead, and the David in Prayer with the Seven Penitential Psalms. But since all the Rosenberg and Getty group *horae* have this same illustrative program, it is more notable that the Getty, Vatican, and Cava hours are the only ones within the Getty and Rosenberg groups that include the Office of the Virgin for Advent and illustrate it with a scene of Mary and the Angel, a theme that forms a second version of the Annunciation scene depicted within the Hours of the Virgin. In the Advent version the angel is depicted further off from Mary than is usual in an Annuncia-

FIGURE 32 *The Burial of the Dead.* Cava de' Tirreni, Badia di Cava, Ms. 45, fol. 131.

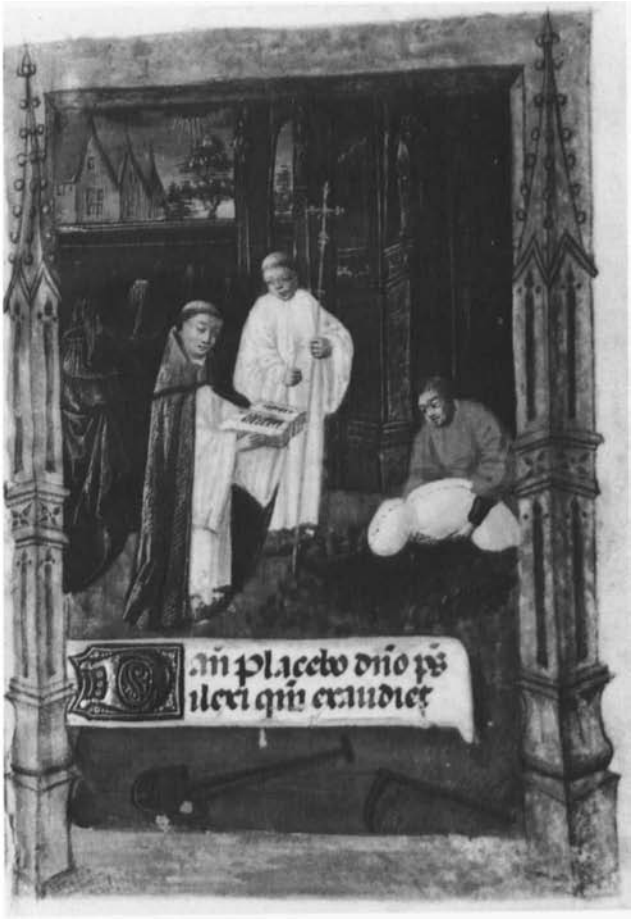

FIGURE 33 *The Burial of the Dead.* Rome, Vatican Library, Ms. Lat. 3780, fol. 111.

tion scene, as if just arriving before the actual pronouncement. This scene—both in terms of its separation of Mary and the angel and its repetition of the matins theme—is unparalleled within Lyonnais illumination, and perhaps within French fifteenth-century illumination in general.[52]

The parallels in the decorative program of these three books are surpassed by their textual similarities. These books were all written in a similar rounded Gothic script not found elsewhere in the Getty or Rosenberg groups.[53] Furthermore, the Getty and the Vatican works are virtually textual twins, a remarkable feature given the variability in the content of books of hours.[54] First, the two books both contain, in similar wording, a calculation for Easter and a lunar calendar written in Italian; Easter calculations and lunar calendars are not uncommon in French books of hours, but the choice of an Italian text here is quite rare.[55] In addition, the calendars and litanies of the two books—the two most individualized parts of a book of hours—are surprisingly similar; the litanies are virtually identical and the calendars have 91% agreement.[56] For example, both calendars include certain unusual entries, such as "Amandi et nestadi" (in red, February 6), rather than the correct listing of Amand and Vedast, as well as two English saints not often found in continental calendars, Richard, Bishop of Chichester (April 3) and Alphege, Archbishop of Canterbury (April 19), and a listing for Adrian of May (March 4), an Irishman much revered in Scotland.[57] Finally, the other texts in the two works are uniform with similar readings for each prayer, as can be seen in the 65.9% agreement in the wording of the "Obsecro te" prayer. In addition to the standard offices, both works include the less common texts of the Mass of the Virgin, the Office of the Virgin for Advent, the letter from Jesus to Abgar, the psalm "Confitemini domino," and suffrages to Saints Sebastian, Augustine,

Christopher, and, most unusually, the Archangel Raphael.[58]

The Badia di Cava text has looser, but nevertheless significant, ties to the Getty and Vatican manuscripts. Like them, the Cava *horae* contains an Easter calculation and lunar calendar in Italian. Also, the Cava litany exactly duplicates that in the Getty, and the calendar includes many similar entries, most notably the erroneous "Amandi et nestadi" (no longer in red), Adrian of May, and Alphege of Canterbury (though Richard of Chichester is dropped). But while the calendar is based on the Getty/Vatican prototype, it lists almost twice as many feasts, resulting in only a 61% agreement with the Getty calendar. And though the Cava text contains many of the same prayers as the other two—including the Office of the Virgin for Advent and suffrages to Sebastian and Christopher—the readings vary more; for example, the "Obsecro te" matches the others only at the outset, but soon diverges, creating only about a 10% agreement with the Getty version. Still, the connections here are sufficient to establish strong textual ties between the Badia di Cava manuscript and the Vatican and Getty works.

The decorative and textual similarities between the Getty, Vatican, and Cava de' Tirreni hours may result from similarities in patronage. For despite a lack of definitive evidence, several features of the manuscripts provide strong indications that all three *horae* had Italian patrons. The use of Italian for the Easter and lunar calculation texts of the group provides perhaps the strongest evidence.[59] Furthermore, the style of script used in the three manuscripts may also be evidence of Italian sponsorship. Though the script still retains many French characteristics, its rounded character derives from the *textualis rotunda* script preferred in Italy.[60] Now the choice of the *rotunda* style in these works could simply reflect the wider popularity of this script throughout Europe in the fifteenth century. However, the fact that the scribe of the Getty manuscript includes a highly unusual feature at this time, the *d* with a straight ascender based on Caroline minuscule (as opposed to the angled ascenders of the Gothic *d*)[61] may indicate that he is imitating not just Italian Gothic *rotunda* but Renaissance humanistic script. This level of interest in Italian-style scripts would be best explained by Italian patronage. In addition, two of the three manuscripts have a longstanding and current Italian provenance. Unfortunately, however, the original owners cannot be identified on the basis of the heraldic devices; the Getty manuscript lacks armorial bearings altogether, and the coat of arms on the Vatican *Annunciation* page (fig. 30) is too abraded to identify.[62] The Badia di Cava manuscript does include on the *Annunciation* page (fig. 31) the coats of arms of two Italian families, identifiable on the male side as the Vettori—a Florentine family with a Roman branch—and on the female side as the Spada of Rome.[63] Genealogical sources confirm that the Vettori and Spada families were united by marriage, but since the date of this marriage has not been recovered, one cannot be sure that this couple originally owned the manuscript.[64] In fact, the coats of arms on the *Annunciation* page appear to be later additions, because the shields and putti clearly overlap a frame painted below them (and now showing through due to surface paint losses). Still, in the context of an Italian text and Italianate script, these indications of Italian ownership, even if not of the first owner, provide presumptive evidence that the original patron was indeed Italian.

In addition, the Getty and Vatican books contain one devotional feature, a suffrage to Raphael, which is suggestive of Italian patronage. Certainly the Archangel Raphael was venerated in France, for a chapel dedicated to him was erected in Lyons in 1494.[65] However, this cult does not seem to have been exceptionally strong in France, and few French books of hours have suffrages to Raphael, especially suffrages accompanied by a miniature, as in the Vatican and Getty manuscripts.[66] In fifteenth-century Italy, on the other hand, Raphael was strongly revered, particularly in the lay confraternities dedicated to the archangel, which were established within the merchant community.[67] Though depictions of Raphael are not frequent in Italian books of hours,[68] panel paintings of the journey of Raphael and Tobias were common ex-voto scenes commissioned by Florentine merchants to commemorate sending their sons abroad to work for foreign branches of Florentine firms, a standard business practice at the time.[69] The depiction of the journey of Tobias in the Vatican manuscript, then, may reflect Italian interest in this particular theme.[70] The Getty manuscript depicts a more unusual scene in the Raphael legend (fig. 12), the finding of the fish whose entrails were used to exorcise the demons from Sarah and cure Tobit's blindness. The scene thus stresses the healing powers of Raphael rather than his protective powers on journeys. Still, the interest in the Raphael legend in itself most likely reflects the tastes of an Italian sponsor.[71]

Lyonnais workshops certainly were in a position to produce manuscripts for Italian patrons. Thanks to its international fairs, by the end of the fifteenth cen-

tury Lyons was a major world market, a center for the sale of silk and spices and for currency exchange.[72] Such economic stature brought an influx of Italian merchants, many associated with the numerous Italian banks that established branches in Lyons.[73] Tax records indicate that by 1515 Italians were a strong force in Lyonnais publishing and bookselling.[74] It is possible, then, that the Getty and Rosenberg Masters could have worked out of an Italian-run bookstore, but they could equally well have attracted Italian buyers through independent local contacts with the Italian community.[75]

The content of the calendars within the group does, however, cast some doubt on the Italian sponsorship of these works. For while the Badia di Cava calendar lists a number of Central Italian saints and hence was suitable for Italians living temporarily in Lyons,[76] the Getty and Vatican calendars appear to be made for Flemish use; they include the major Bruges saints Boniface (June 5), Basil (February 3 and, in red, June 14),[77] and Donatian (August 7 and, in red, October 14, in red), along with other Flemish saints such as "Amandi et Nestadi" (February 6, in red), Lambert (September 17), Remigius and Bavo (October 1, in red), and Lebuin (November 12).[78] If intended for an Italian client, such a calendar could have been designed for an Italian living in Bruges. But it seems unlikely that an Italian living in Bruges would purchase a book of hours in Lyons rather than in the Ghent/Bruges area, a renowned center of illumination.[79] Most likely, the calendars in the Getty and the Vatican were not designed specifically for Flemish use but rather for international use; they even include English and Irish saints.[80] Given the strong international ties of the Italian merchant companies, many with branches in Lyons, Bruges, and London, an international calendar may have been the simplest way for a Lyonnais shop to address the Italian market. So the contents of the Getty and Vatican calendars do not preclude, and may actually support, the argument for Italian patronage.[81] And the similarities in taste within this particular clientele may very well account for many of the similarities in style, iconography, and text within the three manuscripts. Regardless of the patronage circumstances, though, such similarities could not have been achieved without very close interaction between the Getty and Rosenberg Masters.

THE MASTER OF GUILLAUME LAMBERT

Two new artistic personalities, the Getty and Rosenberg Masters, thus emerge more clearly from the group of works ascribed to Lyons and associated with the name of the best-known Lyonnais artist, the Master of Guillaume Lambert. In their programs and style, the works of the Getty and Rosenberg Masters are more closely linked to each other than to the works of the Lambert Master himself. Thus, for example, the decorative programs of the *horae* of the Lambert group (notably Quaritch 47, Rouen 3027, Paris 3117, Vienna 2598, and Morgan 83) differ significantly from the programs found in most of the Getty and Rosenberg Masters' books of hours (e.g., Getty Ms. 10, Lunel Ms. 9, Rosenberg Mss. 5 and 6, and Paris 18015). Unlike the Getty and Rosenberg hours, the Lambert Master's *horae* depict the Death of the Virgin instead of the Flight into Egypt (for the Vespers of Office of the Hours of the Virgin), Christ Carrying the Cross instead of the Crucifixion (for the Hours of the Cross), and David and Bathsheba instead of David in Prayer (for the Penitential Psalms).[82] The choice of theme for the Office of the Dead differs within the Lambert group itself but generally includes more atypical themes—Job on the Dunghill or the Raising of Lazarus—unlike the standard burial or funeral scenes of the Getty and Rosenberg books.[83]

The stylistic predilections that separate the Lambert Master's works from those of the Getty and Rosenberg Masters include the Lambert Master's distinctive use of the close-up viewpoint with a three-quarter depiction of the figures, as opposed to the full-length presentation found throughout the Getty and Rosenberg Masters' works. In addition, the Lambert Master's use of grayed and muted tones with occasional touches of strong orange and lemon yellow differs from the clear and simple palettes of the Getty and Rosenberg Masters. And while the figure types of the Getty and Rosenberg Masters vary somewhat (as we have seen), the Lambert Master's types are distinctly more exaggerated than those of the other two: his figures have heads that are large in proportion to their elongated bodies, with faces that are less consistently modeled, more caricatured and expressive, as well as more schematic than those of the Getty and Rosenberg Masters. Thus the Master of Guillaume Lambert, once seen as virtually the only and certainly the leading master of Lyons, actually stands somewhat apart from the strand of Lyonnais painting represented by the Getty and Rosenberg Masters.

To some degree, the stylistic differences between the Lambert Master and the Getty/Rosenberg Masters are simply the result of the Lambert Master's greater assimilation of the Getty and Rosenberg Masters' own main stylistic source, that is, Jean Colombe. The color choices of the Master of Guillaume Lambert, particularly the grayish undertones of the skin and the greens and blues of the landscapes, show significant similarities with Colombe's works.[84] The larger-headed figure types also have precedents in Colombe, as is evident in a comparison of the Lambert Master's *Bathsheba* of Rouen and that of Colombe's Morgan Ms. 677. The Master of Guillaume Lambert shares Colombe's interest in crowd scenes (even more so than the Rosenberg Master) and sometimes even includes one of Colombe's most bizarre mannerisms, the emphasis on profile views (with the nose placed too high up—compare, for example, the Lambert Master's *Annunciation to the Shepherds* of Paris 3117 with the dedication page of Colombe's Boethius B.L. Harley Ms. 4335, fol. 10).[85] But while the stronger influence of Colombe, along with the Lambert Master's own idiosyncracies, distinguishes the Lambert Master from the Getty and Rosenberg painters, the illuminations of these three masters nevertheless share the stylistic flavor of works produced in close proximity in place and time.[86]

The Lambert Master's Quaritch 47, which dates to 1484, and the closely related Paris 3117 and Morgan 83 appear to form early examples of his work, which were produced just a bit later than the Getty/Vatican/Cava trio of works (of 1478, 1478, and 1482, respectively) by the Getty and Rosenberg Masters. The later work of the Lambert Master may be evident in the Vienna *horae,* since it includes more advanced classicizing forms of architecture, such as the barrel vault of the *Pentecost* and the spiral columns and shell niche in the *Circumcision.* The proliferation of crowd scenes in Vienna also seems to represent a later compositional elaboration, while the *couleurs changeantes* and narrow page format evince tendencies typical of the very end of the fifteenth century.[87] Furthermore, the *Saint Christopher* page shows a mannered hardening and a complexity in the depiction of drapery, though it may be by another hand. Hence the Vienna manuscript probably dates to the 1490s, well after Quaritch 47 and perhaps about the same time as (or somewhat later than) Lunel.[88] The Rouen manuscript, though related to Vienna especially in its compositions, shows fewer classicizing architectural forms and so appears to date between the earlier works and the Vienna manuscript.[89]

Thus, the Lambert group as a whole, together with the later Rosenberg works, constitutes production that postdates the Getty manuscript. The Getty manuscript is significant in that it falls at the very beginning of known manuscript production by these three related hands. In addition, the Getty manuscript provides the key for separating these hands: it not only provides ample evidence for identifying a new master of very high artistic abilities but also establishes links between this new illuminator and the Rosenberg Master, thereby expanding our understanding of this previously ill-defined artist. As a result, later fifteenth-century Lyonnais illumination need no longer be seen as largely limited to the activities of one rather mediocre master, the Master of Guillaume Lambert. Though the exact nature of the interactions between the three Lyonnais artists considered here is not yet fully clear, the recently discovered Getty Ms. 10 provides fruitful grounds for speculation: the high quality and early date of the manuscript suggest that the Getty Master might well have been the founder of a Lyonnais atelier where both the Rosenberg and Lambert Masters worked. Perhaps he even was the teacher, not only of the Rosenberg Master, but of the Master of Guillaume Lambert himself.[90]

APPENDIX 1: ATTRIBUTION GROUPINGS

Of the works that have been associated with the Master of Guillaume Lambert and his circle, I propose the following division of attributions. I would expect that further study of the Master of Guillaume group would result in additional divisions within that group; however, such subdivisions were not the focus of this study. As this article was going to press, I had the opportunity to study Brussels, B.R. Ms. 9503-4 (Jean de Courcy, *La Bouquechardière,* vol. 2) and determined that it—and perhaps its companion volume, Paris, B.N. Ms. Fr. 698 (Jean de Courcy, *La Bouquechardière,* vol. 1)—belongs within the Getty and Rosenberg groups. I will consider the attribution of the miniatures within these two *Bouquechardière* manuscripts in a future study.

THE GETTY MASTER GROUP

Chantilly, Musée Condé, Ms. 834 (314) (Valerius Maximus, *Dicta et facta memorabilia*), fol. 88 (*The Death of Lucretia*)

Lunel, B.M. Ms. 9 (*horae*), p. 167 (*Pentecost*), and p. 215 (*The Burial of the Dead*)

Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 10 (*horae*), 1478

Paris, B.N. Ms. Fr. 989 (Pierre Thomas, *Défense de la conception immaculée de la Vierge*), fol. 3 (dedication scene)

THE ROSENBERG MASTER GROUP

Badia di Cava, Ms. 45 (*horae*), 1482

Lunel, B.M. Ms. 9 (*horae*), in collaboration with the Getty Master (see above) and the Master of the Lunel Suffrages

Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 25 (*La passion [de Nostre Seigneur Ihesus Crist]*), fol. 5v (*The Entry into Jerusalem*), in collaboration with the Master of Guillaume Lambert (see below)

New York, Rosenberg Collection, Ms. 5 (*horae*)

New York, Rosenberg Collection, Ms. 6 (*horae*)

Oxford, Keble College, Ms. 40 (*horae*)

Paris, B.N. Ms. Lat. 18015 (*horae*)

Rome, Vatican Lat. 3780 (*horae*), 1478

On the market at the Antiquariat Heribert Tenschert, *horae*

THE MASTER OF GUILLAUME LAMBERT GROUP

Chantilly, Musée Condé, Ms. 833–34 (313–14) (Valerius Maximus, *Dicta et facta memorabilia*), excluding vol. 1, fol. 88 by the Getty Master (see above)

Geneva, Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire, Ms. Fr. 70 (Jean de Courcy, *La Bouquechardière*)

London, B.L., Egerton Ms. 1067 (pontifical)

Lyons, B.M., Ms. 583 (*horae*)

Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 25 (Jean Gerson, *La passion [de Nostre Seigneur Ihesus Crist]*)

New York, Lehman Collection (leaf of the *Madonna and Child*)

New York, Morgan Library, M. 83 (*horae*)

Paris, Arsenal, Ms. 101 (breviary)

Paris, B.N. Nouv. Acq. Lat. 3117 (*horae*)

Rouen, B.M. 3027 (Leber Ms. 141) (*horae*)

Philadelphia, Free Library, Ms. 11:2, 11:3 (two leaves from a book of hours)

Vienna, O.N.B., S.n. 2598 (*horae*)

Whereabouts unknown: Quaritch 47 (*horae*), 1484; Brandt collection (leaf of the Nativity); Hôtel Drouot, March 23, 1936, lot 4 (*horae*).

In addition, some other works may be part of this third group but have not received sufficient study: Frankfurt, Linel Collection, L.M. 36 (*horae*)—see R. Schilling and G. Swarzenski, *Die illuminierten Handschriften und Einzelminiaturen der Mittelalters und der Renaissance in Frankfurter Besitz* (Frankfurt, 1929), p. 143–44; also St. Petersburg, former Imperial Library of St. Petersburg (I do not know whether this manuscript survives today), Ms. Lat O.v. 1, 126 (*horae*)—see A. de Laborde, *Les principaux manuscrits à peintures conservés dans l'ancienne bibliothèque impériale publique de Saint-Pétersbourg,* vol. 2 (Paris, 1938), pp. 122–26, pl. L. I have not included Lyons, Ms. 588 (*horae*), which has been associated with the group but appears far too crude to be given even to the shop of the Master of Guillaume Lambert. I am very grateful to Thomas Kren and François Avril for alerting me to a number of these manuscripts.

APPENDIX 2: DESCRIPTION OF GETTY MS. 10

Fols. ii + 191 + ii; 14.6 x 9.8 cm (5 3/4 x 3 7/8 in.)

$1^{7\,(8-1)}$, 2^8–6^8, 7^{12}, 8^8–23^8, 24^4

1 column, 16 lines, with 17 lines in calendar; 7.8 x 5.4 cm (3 1/16 x 2 1/8 in.). Latin with three pages in Italian containing a calculation of Easter and a lunar calendar, in *textualis formata,* with influence of the rotunda style.

Seventeen full-page miniatures, many decorated initials, of both one and two lines.

Modern binding, brown jansenist morocco, stamped with name of binder, Thibaron-Joly.

CONTENTS

Calendar (fols. 2–13v), including: Vincent martyr (January 22, in red), Basil (spelled "Blasii," February 3 and, in red, June 14), Amand and Vedast (spelled "Amandi et Nestadi," February 6, in red), Richard bishop (April 3), Alphege bishop (April 19), James and Philip (May 1, in red), Barnabas apostle (June 11, in red), Translation of Thomas (July 4, in red), Translation of Benedict (July 11, in red), James and Christopher (July 25, in red), Donatian bishop (August 7 and, in red, October 14), Lawrence martyr (August 10, in red), Egidius abbot (September 1, in red), Lambert martyr (September 17), Remigius and Bavo (October 1, in red), Lebuin bishop (November 12), and Nicasius bishop (December 14, in red).

Calculation for Easter and Lunar Calendar (fols. 14–15v)

Gospel Sequences (fols. 16–20v)

The Mass of the Virgin (fols. 21–26v)
Enthroned Virgin and Child with Angels, fol. 21

The Short Hours of the Cross (fols. 27–30v)
The Crucifixion, fol. 27

The Short Hours of the Holy Spirit (fols. 31–34v)
Pentecost, fol. 31

The Hours of the Virgin, use of Rome (fols. 35–89)
The Annunciation, fol. 35
The Visitation, fol. 52
The Nativity, fol. 63
The Annunciation to the Shepherds, fol. 67
The Adoration of the Magi, fol. 71
The Presentation, fol. 75
The Flight into Egypt, fol. 78
The Virgin in a Glory of Angels, fol. 85

The Office of the Virgin for Advent (fols. 90–96v)
The Annunciation (?) or the Virgin Seated in Prayer, fol. 90

Seven Penitential Psalms (fols. 97–107)
King David in Prayer, fol. 97

Litany (fols. 107–125), including Cosmas, Damian, Amand, Donatian, Basil (spelled "Blasii"), Remigius, Vedast (spelled "Nestade"), Eligius, Clare, Amelberga, and Ursula.

Office of the Dead, use of Rome (fols. 126–158v)
Burial Scene, fol. 116

"Obsecro te," masculine (fols. 159–163)
The Pietà, fol. 159

Seven Verses of Saint Bernard (fols. 163–164v)

Suffrage to Saint Sebastian (fols. 164v–165v)

Psalm: "Qui habitat" (fols. 165v–166v)

Two prayers attributed to Saint Augustine (fols. 167–176)

Psalm: "Confitemini domino" (fols. 176v–178v)

Prayers (fols. 128v–181)

Apocryphal letter from Jesus to Abgar of Odessa (fols. 181–181v)

The Names of the Virgin (fols. 181v–182)

Prayers (fols. 182–182v)

Suffrage to Saint Christopher (fols. 183–185)
Saint Christopher, fol. 183

Suffrage to Saint Peter (fol. 185v)

Suffrage to Raphael (fols. 186–187)
Tobias and the Archangel Raphael, fol. 186

Prayers for various occasions (fols. 187–188)

Prayers to the Virgin (fol. 188v)

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NOTES

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1. See below and Appendix 2 for more specific discussion of the contents of the calendar.
2. I am indebted to John Plummer for analyzing the "Obsecro te" of Getty Ms. 10. He determined that the Getty "Obsecro te" text, aside from close similarities with Vatican 3780, agrees with other known examples at a rate of only about 16% at best, with texts from Lyons, Burgundy, and Flanders closest to the 16% mark.
3. See O. Pächt and D. Thoss, *Die illuminierten Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek: Französische Schule II* (Vienna, 1977), pp. 142–47; and J. Plummer and G. Clark, *The Last Flowering: French Painting in Manuscripts, 1420–1530,* exh. cat. (Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, 1982), pp. 76–77.
4. See F. Avril, "Les manuscrits enluminés de la collection Médard à la Bibliothèque de Lunel," *La Bibliothèque de Louis Médard à Lunel* (Montpellier, 1987), p. 166; and E. Burin, "Manuscript Illumination in Lyons, c. 1450–1530" (Ph.D. diss., Cambridge University, 1990), pp. 16–32. I am most grateful to Dr. Burin for allowing me to read her chapter on the Master of Guillaume Lambert and his circle. Sandra Hindman's study of the Lehman Collection leaf by the Master of Guillaume Lambert is forthcoming in the catalogue of the Lehman Collection's illuminated manuscripts; I have not yet had the opportunity to read it.
5. On the Quaritch manuscript, see *A Catalogue of Illuminated and Other Manuscripts Together with Some Works on Palaeography* (London, 1931), p. 34. The date 1484 appears in the calendar of this work.
6. Plummer and Clark (note 3), pp. 76–77. In this case, the fact that the scribe was identified provided a convenient means of denominating the anonymous illuminator. The scribe Guillaume Lambert is known to have signed two works. In Quaritch 47 he wrote the following inscription at the end of each of the first five months of the calendar: "Ces heures sont et appertiennent . . . Lyon. et furent escriptes en sa maison pres le portal Lan mil. iiij^{c}, iiij^{xx} et iiij." C. de Hamel (*A History of Illuminated Manuscripts* [Boston, 1986], p. 185), claims that this inscription indicates that Guillaume Lambert's house was either near a city gate or near the doors of Lyons Cathedral. However, Lambert's house most likely would have

been in the book-selling neighborhood of Lyons, which was located on the rue Mercière around Notre Dame de Confort; see A. Vingtrinier, *Histoire de l'imprimerie à Lyon jusqu'à la fin du XVIe siècle* (Lyons, 1894), passim, esp. p. 146; and R. Gascon, *Grand commerce et vie urbaine au XVIe siècle—Lyon et ses marchands,* vol. 1 (Paris, 1971), p. 446, fig. 39, and pl. XI. This was not in the immediate neighborhood of the cathedral. Thus the inscription may refer to the portal of Notre Dame de Confort or perhaps to the gate at the rue de Chalamon and the rue Mercière, in the heart of the book-trading district. The second manuscript that was signed and dated by Guillaume Lambert is a largely unilluminated missal of 1466 (Lyons, B.M. 516), in which the scribe identifies himself as an "escrivain de lettre de forme demourant audit moncenis"; this reveals that prior to working in Lyons, Guillaume Lambert was working in Montcenis, in the region north of Lyons, near Chalon-sur-Saône. For a partial transcription of the inscription, see Molinier and Desvernay, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France—Départements, Lyon,* vol. 30, pt. 1 (Paris, 1900), p. 34. This missal does not include any illuminations by the Master of Guillaume Lambert or any related artists.

7. While Pächt and Thoss (note 3) and Plummer and Clark (note 3) provided some groupings within the oeuvre, the most sustained study of attributions within the Master of Guillaume Lambert group is that of Burin (note 4). Burin primarily divided the oeuvre between the Lambert Master, the Lambert shop, and the Rosenberg Master, though she briefly identified some other hands. On the group of *horae* related to Quaritch 47, see Pächt and Thoss (note 3), pp. 142–47 (on Vienna); Plummer and Clark (note 3), pp. 76–77 (on the Morgan work); and on the Paris manuscript, see *Manuscrits à peintures offerts à la Bibliothèque Nationale par le Comte Guy du Boisrouvray* (Paris, 1961), pp. 111–12. Also see Appendix 1 for a listing of all the works that I have associated with the Lambert Master. Of these I consider the following to be closest to the core Quaritch work: B.L. Egerton 1067, the Lehman Collection leaf (study forthcoming by Hindman), the Brandt Collection leaf (see H. Bober, *The Mortimer Brandt Collection of Medieval Manuscript Illuminations* [n.p., n.d.], pp. 15–17), and the Philadelphia Free Library leaves, along with the *horae* sold at Hôtel Drouot (March 23, 1936, lot 4). I should note, however, that I have only been able to examine reproductions of some of these works.
8. My argument for a separate Getty Master here has not been advanced in any previous literature and differs from Burin (note 4), pp. 24–25, who suggests that the Getty work is a collaboration of the Lambert and Rosenberg hands.
9. See also Appendix 1 for a full listing of the attribution groupings formulated in this study. I should note that while the Getty Master grouping represents an entirely new division within Lyonnais illumination, that of the Rosenberg Master expands the initial grouping of Rosenberg Mss. 5 and 6 established Plummer and Clark (note 3), pp. 77–78.
10. On the Lunel manuscript, see Avril (note 4), p. 166; this manuscript contains a number of hands, including a very distinct separate hand responsible for the suffrages. In addition to the two pages discussed here, it is possible that the *Virgin and Child Enthroned* (p. 18) and the *Virgin in Glory* (p. 148) of Lunel also involve the hand of the Getty Master; but this attribution does not seem compelling to me.
11. The differences between the Getty Master's treatment of the male figures in Getty Ms. 10 and Lunel Ms. 9 may be the result of the influence of the Rosenberg Master on the latter work; on the Rosenberg Master, see below.
12. On this I differ from Plummer and Clark (note 3), p. 78, who associate this work with the Rosenberg Master.
13. On the work in Chantilly, see J. Meurgey, *Les principaux manuscrits à peintures du Musée Condé à Chantilly* (Paris, 1930), pp. 157–59. I believe that the scene in the lower left corner should be attributed to the artist of the suffrages of Lunel since both works share the same nervous line and wide-ranging coloration (emphasizing very dark burgundies and pinks). I do not see the hand of the Getty Master in any of the other illuminations in the two-volume set and hence am only discussing the *Lucretia* page here.
14. On the patronage and dating of Lunel, see Avril (note 4), p. 166 and n. 15.
15. C. Couderc, *Album de portraits d'après les collections du département des manuscrits* (Paris, ca. 1907), p. 33.
16. These documents appear to concern two Antoine de Lévis, father and son, and range from 1475 to 1493; a 1482 document refers to Antoine de Lévis, father of Antoine de Lévis, conte de Villars, as deceased. However, it is not clear which of the two men documented here was responsible for the translation of the text. I am deeply grateful to François Avril for sharing this information with me.
17. The inscriptions in the two volumes may provide evidence useful for the dating of the manuscript. The inscription in the second volume identifies the scribe as Johannes Tybonier and the patron as "Loys du Perier, recepveur pour le Roy nostre sire ou païs d'Albyjoys," a description of the patron that mirrors that used in the first volume. Loys du Périer was a bibliophile (who probably commissioned the *Bouquechardière* in Geneva as well), who is best known for having received the post of *visiteur des gabelles* of Provence—an important post—from Charles VIII in 1486. At present I have not been able to determine when Loys du Périer was in Albigeois. Burin (note 4), p. 27, suggests that the Valerius Maximus probably dates before 1486, since Loys du Périer most likely was in Albigeois prior to receiving this new post. But he could have received lands in Albigeois after this time; based on the stylistic evidence, I am inclined to support this latter possibility. On Loys du Périer, see H. Aubert, "Notices sur les manuscrits Petau conservés à la Bibliothèque de Genève," *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 70 (1909), pp. 484–86; and idem, "Les principaux manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire de Genève," *Bulletin de la société française de reproductions de manuscrits à peintures* 2 (1912), pp. 90–91. On the Geneva *Bouquechardière,* see *L'enluminure de Charlemagne à François Ier,* exh. cat. (Musée Rath, Geneva, 1976), pp. 135–37.
18. Meurgey ([note 13], p. 158) remarks on the high quality of the execution of this scene in particular.
19. For an illustration of this work, see Plummer and Clark (note 3), fig. 54b.
20. On this manuscript, see Plummer and Clark (note 3), pp. 53–54. I am indebted to Nicole Reynaud for alerting me to a number of important similarities between this manuscript and Getty Ms. 10, particularly those evident in the study of Morgan 677's *Flight into Egypt* and *Nativity* scenes discussed below.
21. Additional compositional parallels between the Getty Master and Colombe can be found in other manuscripts; Colombe's depiction of the *Adoration of the Magi* in Morgan M. 248, fol. 49v, and in the Lelièvre Collection fol. 55, illustrated in C. Schaefer, "Oeuvres du début de la carrière de l'enlumineur Jean Colombe," *Cahiers d'archéologie et d'histoire du Berry* 35

(1973), pp. 45–57, is very similar in composition to Getty fol. 71. However, the similarities are not compelling enough to prove a direct compositional borrowing here.

22. See Plummer and Clark (note 3), p. 77, and *Manuscrits à peinture* (note 7), p. 111.
23. The Colombe works, which include these frames, such as the Hours of Louis of Laval, the Très Riches Heures, the Hours of Philippe de Commines, and the Laurentian Library, Florence Pal. 241, all appear to date to the 1480s; on the Florentine work, see C. Schaefer, "Un livre d'heures illustré par Jean Colombe à la Bibliothèque Laurentienne à Florence," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 86 (1973), pp. 287–96.
24. I am indebted to Nicole Reynaud for raising this possibility, but share her concerns that given the fairly limited extent and range of production of the Getty Master, it does not seem likely that he would be the originator of a motif with such a wide influence.
25. I presume that such contact took place in Bourges, given that Colombe settled in Bourges in the 1460s and spent most of his life there except for a few trips, notably one to Savoy in the 1480s; as the Savoy trip postdates Getty Ms. 10, any initial contacts between the Getty Master and Colombe would have occurred prior to this trip. On Colombe's life, see *Renaissance Painting in Manuscripts,* exh. cat. (J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, 1983), pp. 157–62.
26. For an illustration of this work, see C. Sterling and C. Schaefer, *The Hours of Etienne Chevalier—Jean Fouquet* (New York, 1971), pl. 26.
27. Avril ([note 4], p. 166 and n. 16) has also noted similarities between pages in the Lunel and Chantilly manuscripts, and Fouquet's Hours of Etienne Chevalier.
28. Aside from Getty Ms. 10, I have not found references to the nursing Madonna elsewhere in Lyonnais fifteenth-century illumination. For an illustration of the Chevalier Hours *Madonna and Child Enthroned,* which forms half of a frontispiece diptych, see Sterling and Schaefer (note 26), pl. 5.
29. For an illustration of the Bedford work, see M. Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry—The Limbourgs and Their Contemporaries* (New York, 1974), pl. 777. Perhaps a Bedford school illuminator was active in Lyons: see J. Backhouse, *Books of Hours* (London, 1985), p. 59, for an illustration of the Creméaux hours (B.L. Add. Ms. 18751), ca. 1440, a Bedford-style work believed to have been produced in Lyons. The Getty manuscript's second version of the Annunciation, the so-called *Virgin in Prayer,* fol. 90, does not appear to be based on any compositions of the Bedford Master. The closest prototypes that I have found, in which the angel appears in the sky, are in the Boucicaut Master (B.N. lat. 10538, fol. 31, illustrated in M. Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry—The Boucicaut Master* [London, 1968], pl. 129) and Jacquemart de Hesdin (Brussels, B.R. Ms. 11060–1, p. 18, illustrated in M. Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry—The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke* [London, 1967], pl. 182).
30. Nicole Reynaud has suggested that this motif can be found in illuminations from Amiens; indeed, there may actually have been a link between book production in Lyons and Amiens: see Plummer and Clark (note 3), p. 13.
31. This was suggested (orally) by James Marrow. The van der Weyden work is illustrated in M. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting,* vol. 2 (New York, 1967), pl. 12.
32. For an illustration, see ibid., vol. 1, pl. 68.
Andachtsbücher des Mittelalters aus Privatbesitz, exh. cat. (Schnütgen-Museum, Cologne, 1987), pp. 126–27, but his art
33. One illuminator who precedes the Master of Guillaume Lambert and his circle in Lyons is discussed in J. M. Plotzek, bears little relationship to the Lambert school. Also, the Getty Master may have been influenced by the leading master of the neighboring region of Burgundy, the Master of the Burgundian Prelates. Both illuminators share a remarkable concern for landscape space; however, I do not know of any specific borrowings within Getty Ms. 10 from this Burgundian artist. On the Master of the Burgundian Prelates, see N. Reynaud, "Un peintre français de la fin du quinzième siècle—Le Maître des prélats bourguignons," *Etudes d'art français offertes à Charles Sterling* (Paris, 1975), pp. 151–63; R. Wieck, *Late Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts, 1350–1525, in the Houghton Library* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), no. 17; and Plummer and Clark (note 3), pp. 75–76. Whether or not the Getty Master—in addition to sources from the Loire Valley—drew on local stylistic sources, he himself clearly had an influence on later masters of his region. The unknown Lyonnais illuminator responsible for the Mabon hours (Alcuin Library, St. John's Abbey and University, Collegeville, Minn.) derived his *Pietà* directly from Getty Ms. 10. On the Mabon hours, see A. Stones and J. Steyaert, *Medieval Illumination, Glass, and Sculpture in Minnesota Collections,* exh. cat. (University of Minnesota Gallery, Minneapolis, 1978), pp. 72–78; the *Pietà* is illustrated in fig. 58. Interestingly enough, Stones and Steyaert, p. 76, associate the style of the Mabon hours with the Master of the Burgundian Prelates. And the Getty Master's style and compositions may have even had an influence outside the Lyonnais area in another provincial center of illumination, Rouen. For example, the *Annunciation* of Rothschild Ms. 12 from Rouen contains the same three-figure composition and brocades of the Getty scene; so too, the *Flight into Egypt* of the Rothschild work is quite similar to the Getty version; see L. M. J. Delaissé, J. Marrow, and J. de Wit, *The James A. De Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor—Illuminated Manuscripts* (Fribourg, 1977), p. 247ff. But how and where the style of the Getty Master spread remains a subject for further study.
34. Plummer and Clark (note 3), pp. 77–78, with illustration, fig. 100a. Plummer and Clark noted the unusual method of highlighting the bushes but did not note the similar techniques used for shading.
35. Burin (note 4), p. 24, also attributes the Lunel manuscript to the Rosenberg Master.
36. Ibid., p. 23, also considers the manuscript in Keble College to be part of the Rosenberg group, an attribution I find convincing. But as I have not been able to see the original manuscript I will not be considering it here; see M. B. Parkes, *The Medieval Manuscripts of Keble College Oxford* (London, 1979), pp. 181–84. Other works that can be attributed to the Rosenberg Master may include the *Entry into Jerusalem,* fol. 5v of Getty Ms. 25: it includes the yellow tones of the landscape, the zigzag path through the landscape, and the figure-types that are distinctive of the Rosenberg style. Other pages in Getty Ms. 25 appear to be by very different hands, however.
37. The Rosenberg group manuscripts and Getty Ms. 10 all follow a rather traditional pattern of scenes for the Hours of the Virgin (see Appendix 2 for the listing of scenes in the Getty Hours). In addition, the other main texts are illustrated as follows: the Hours of the Cross with the Crucifixion, the Hours of the Holy Spirit with Pentecost, the Penitential Psalms with David in Prayer, and the Office of the Dead with a burial or funeral scene. Some exceptions are that Rosenberg

Ms. 5 does not include the Flight into Egypt as part of the cycle, contains the Death of the Virgin for Compline, and has lost the illustration for the Penitential Psalms; Rosenberg Ms. 6 is missing many miniatures, but the surviving ones follow the Getty pattern. Although these are rather standard choices, they differentiate the illustrated program of the Getty/Rosenberg Masters from that of the Master of Guillaume Lambert, as discussed below.

38. It is possible, as Nicole Reynaud suggested in a letter to me of March 18, 1991, that the Rosenberg hand is simply a later or less fastidious Getty hand; indeed, Burin (note 4), pp. 24–25, argues that the Rosenberg Master worked on Getty Ms. 10. However, I find the differences strong enough to warrant separating the two hands.
39. On Paris 18015, see V. Leroquais, *Les livres d'heures manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale,* vol. 2 (Paris, 1927), pp. 187–89. The *horae* recently at the dealer Tenschert, which I know only from slides, may provide additional evidence that the Paris work is by the Rosenberg hand; to a large degree, it presents color versions of the Paris manuscript's compositions, while using many of the mannerisms of the Rosenberg hand, notably the distinctive treatment of the bushes and the sky. On the Tenschert manuscript, see *Leuchtendes Mittelalter II,* Katalog XXV, Antiquariat Heribert Tenschert, 1990, no. 50, pp. 584–94. I am indebted to James Marrow for this reference.
40. For an illustration of the Rosenberg Ms. 6 *Virgin and Child Enthroned,* see Plummer and Clark (note 3), fig. 101. The scene of Saint Matthew, fol. 17 in Rosenberg Ms. 6, also contains the sharply slanting walls similar to the *Virgin Enthroned* scene of Paris 18015; this page is illustrated in Sotheby's, London, Oct. 30, 1981, lot 53.
41. The sitting-up dog of Rosenberg Ms. 5 does not appear in the Paris example, but does appear, reversed, in the Tenschert manuscript, a work that has many similarities with both Rosenberg Ms. 5 and Paris 18015.
42. The Paris work does seem to be further removed from the model, since the climbing position of the feet, which in the Getty scene is justified by the ascent of the path, no longer makes sense given the flat terrain of the Paris miniature.
43. On the sources of this motif, see above.
44. Although the use of grisaille, rather than a difference of hands, could account for the more sculptural and controlled style of the Paris work compared to Getty Ms. 10, I am nevertheless inclined to consider the two works the product of separate hands.
45. For an illustration of the Fouquet, see Sterling and Schaefer (note 26), pl. 17. Another Rosenberg group work, which may show the influence of Fouquet, is the depiction of the *Virgin and Child in a Crescent,* fol. 175 of Badia di Cava, which replicates the composition of fol. 239, B.N. Ms. Lat. 13305 by a follower of Fouquet. On Badia di Cava, see below.
46. Plummer and Clark (note 3), p. 78.
47. Another example of a Rosenberg group miniature influenced by Colombe may be the *Entry into Jerusalem* of Getty Ms. 25 (fol. 5v), which is almost identical in composition to a page in a work given to Colombe sold at Sotheby's, London, May 19, 1936, lot 33. Whether or not the Rosenberg Master had more direct or indirect contacts with Colombe than the Getty Master remains unclear. Other sources for the Rosenberg Master might include the Bedford Master, who probably was the source for the Annunciation composition found in the Rosenberg group, in which scenes of the Life of the Virgin are placed in an architectural setting around the central scene, although this composition is found in the Rohan Master as well; see Pächt and Thoss (note 3), pp. 146–47, and de Hamel (note 6), p. 183. The Rosenberg works also show a particular affinity with those of the Master of the Burgundian Prelates; Plummer and Clark ([note 3], p. 78) noted that the arrangement of text with space extending below it in the *Saint John on Patmos* of the Burgundian master's *horae* at Harvard (Ms. Lat. 249) is similar to that found in Rosenberg Ms. 6 (see fig. 18); also, the *Saint John the Baptist in the Wilderness* in the same Harvard manuscript (illustrated in Plummer and Clark, fig. 97) is very close to another Rosenberg Master illumination, the *Saint John the Baptist* in Vatican 3780 (discussed below). However, if the date of about 1485 currently given to the Harvard manuscript is correct (see Wieck [note 33], p. 36), it would postdate the 1478 Vatican work.
48. On the Vatican manuscript, see H. Ehrensberger, *Libri liturgici Bibiliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae* (Hildesheim, 1985, reprint of Freiburg, 1897), pp. 363–64; P. Durrieu, "Notes sur quelques manuscrits à peintures d'origine française ou flamande conservés dans les bibliothèques d'Italie," *Bulletin de la Société française de reproductions de manuscrits à peintures* 1 (1911), pp. 94–95; and J. Guignard, "Quelques oeuvres de l'atelier de Bourdichon conservées en Italie," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 56 (1939), pp. 361–66. On the Badia di Cava manuscript, see D. Mattei-Cerasoli, *Codices Cavenses I* (Abbey of Cava, 1935), pp. 76–77; *Mostra storica nazionale della miniatura,* exh. cat. (Palazzo di Venezia, Rome, 1953), p. 447; and M. Rotili, *La miniatura nella Badia di Cava,* vol. 2 (Cava dei Tirreni, 1979), pp. 109–16, 172–73.
49. Plummer and Clark ([note 3], p. 78) note this feature in Rosenberg Ms. 6 (also see note 47).
50. The steep perspective of Rosenberg Ms. 6, for example, is not found in the interior scenes of the Vatican or Cava Hours.
51. Of the two Rosenberg group manuscripts that I have not viewed, I would date the Keble College manuscript and the Tenschert manuscript with the later Rosenberg group manuscripts, based on their similarities to Lunel and Paris 18015, respectively.
52. I am, however, aware of an Italian sixteenth-century example, the Farnese Hours (Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 69), in which there is a similar duplication of the Annunciation theme; here as well, the Advent Office opens with another rendition of the Annunciation theme portrayed in the Hours of the Virgin. In this work, the Advent Annunciation depicts the Virgin and the angel separately within two cameo frames (fols. 54v–55).
53. According to the classification of scripts developed by Albert Derolez based on the system of Lieftinck (see M. G. I. Lieftinck, "Pour une nomenclature de l'écriture livresque de la période dite gothique," *Nomenclature des écritures livresques du IXe au XVIe siècle* [Paris, 1953], pp. 15–34), this script should be identified as *textualis formata* in a *rotunda*-influenced style. The *rotunda* influence is visible in the wider and more rounded letter forms. Though the script styles of the three manuscripts are similar, they are not identical and cannot be attributed to the same scribe. The Vatican manuscript shows somewhat more angular forms, more influence of the cursive *V,* and slightly longer ascenders and descenders than the other two; the Cava manuscript shows more widely spaced letters and words. Both lack the unusual use of the straight *d* as found in the Getty manuscript (see below). I am indebted to Albert Derolez for assistance in analyzing the script forms here. In addition, it should be noted that the decorated initials and line

endings in the three books are also quite similar; but the initials and line endings are fairly uniform throughout the entire range of manuscripts associated with Lyons.

54. It is possible, as Thomas Kren has suggested to me, that the Vatican and Getty manuscripts were designed as a pair for a husband and wife; but at present we cannot identify the patrons specifically. It appears to me that the Vatican may have formed the base text, since the Getty text tends to abbreviate elements of the Vatican work. Other examples of books of hours that are nearly textual twins include two Flemish examples, Oxford, Bodleian Mss. Douce 8 and 12—see O. Pächt and J. J. G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford I* (Oxford, 1966), p. 28.
55. Other French manuscripts that have text in Italian include: Morgan M. 292 (Tours, ca. 1500); Sotheby's, London, June 24, 1986, lot 110 (Southwest France, 1482, with explanations of calendar and luna in Italian); and a manuscript in the Rothschild Collection (Touraine, 1478), with calendar in Italian—see P. Durrieu, "Livres d'heures exécutés en Italie et en Espagne pour l'exportation," *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* (1894), p. 203.
56. I am indebted to John Plummer for the quantification of textual similarities in the calendars, litanies, and "Obsecro te" prayers of the Getty, Vatican, and Cava manuscripts.
57. Adrian of May was revered in Scotland because he preached and was buried there; on Adrian of May, see R. Watson, *The Playfair Hours: A Late Fifteenth-Century Illuminated Manuscript from Rouen (V&A, L.475–1918)* (London, 1984), p. 43. It should be noted that Adrian of May can be found in some North Italian calendars; he is listed in a book of hours in Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms. 339 (Verona?), and Dyson Perrins Collection No. 90 (Milan). This may be relevant to the arguments for Italian patronage of these books; see below. On Richard of Chichester, see Plummer and Clark (note 3), pp. 15–16, on Morgan 105, a book of hours by the Master of Sir John Fastolf, which was made for an Englishman and includes a miniature of Richard. Also, Leroquais (vol. 2 [note 39], p. 88), notes the listing of Richard of Chichester in the calendar of a book of hours, use of Salisbury, B.N. Ms. Lat. 13285; Alphege also appears in this calendar, though in addition, North French or Belgian calendars, and even Roman calendars, such as B.N. Ms. Lat. 1165, include him as well. I am grateful to Consuelo Dutschke for assistance in studying the calendar of Getty Ms. 10.
58. To be sure, each work includes a few short texts not in the other. The Vatican work includes the "O intemerata," a suffrage to John the Baptist, and psalms for Vespers, none of which is found in the Getty manuscript; on the other hand, the Getty manuscript contains a few prayers, including the Names of the Virgin, which are not in the Vatican work.
59. Some authors have attempted to establish the dialect of the Italian text: Guignard ([note 48], p. 365) considers it to be a Venetian or Piedmont dialect, whereas Durrieu ([note 48], p. 94) considers it to be Venetian.
60. Durrieu ([note 48], p. 94) considers the script to have both Italian and French characteristics. Guignard ([note 48], pp. 365–66) suggests that the scribe may be Italian, but as Derolez has advised me, the script shows significant Northern European characteristics, and hence the scribe must be French, rather than an Italian working in Lyons.
61. I am grateful to Albert Derolez for alerting me to this feature of the script and for emphasizing how unusual it is to see the straight *d*—which was virtually eliminated from Gothic script after the twelfth century—in a fifteenth-century *textualis.*
62. Durrieu ([note 48], p. 95) suggests that the coat of arms appears Flemish in character but is unable to specifically identify it due to abrasion. It should also be noted that in the case of all three manuscripts the "Obsecro te" uses masculine forms and hence does not provide any significant information about the patron.
63. The coats of arms were identified by Cerasoli (note 48), p. 77; Jesse McNab has kindly reconfirmed this heraldic identification for me.
64. See *La famiglia dei Conti Spade* (Rome, 1896), p. 15; and *Storia genealogica delle famiglie illustri italiane,* vol. 1 (Florence, 1890?), pp. 321–22. I am indebted to the Istituto Genealogico Italiano, Florence, for these references.
65. J. Wadsworth, *Lyons, 1473–1503: The Beginnings of Cosmopolitanism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), p. 7.
66. Leroquais (vol. 2 [note 39], pp. 12–13) lists one manuscript, which contains an illuminated suffrage to Raphael, B.N. Ms. Lat. 10555, fol. 274. In addition, Leroquais (vol. 2, pp. 298–305) lists B.N. Ms. Lat. 9474, the Grand Hours of Anne of Brittany, whose fol. 165v may depict Raphael, although the accompanying suffrage only invokes a guardian angel (not Raphael in particular). This suffrage does appear in Flemish manuscripts, for example Dresden, Sächsisches Landesbibliothek, Ms. A.311, fol. 92v.
67. On the veneration of Raphael in Italy, see G. M. Monti, *Le confraternite medievali dell'alta e media Italia,* vol. 1 (Venice, 1927), p. 183; R. Weissman, *Ritual Brotherhood in Renaissance Florence* (New York, 1982), pp. 179, 189, 225; H. Saalman, *The Bigallo* (New York, 1969), p. 5ff. See also E. Kühnel, *Francesco Botticini* (Strassbourg, 1906), pp. 44–61; G. M. Achenbach, "The Iconography of Tobias and the Angel in Florentine Painting of the Renaissance," *Marsyas* 3 (1943–45), pp. 75–79; and E. H. Gombrich, "Tobias and the Angel," *Symbolic Images* (London, 1972), pp. 26–30.
68. One example can be found in J. J. G. Alexander and A. C. de la Mare, *The Italian Manuscripts in the Library of Major J. R. Abbey* (London, 1969), pp. 86–88: no. 32 J.A. 3199, fol. 156v, in a book of hours from Naples, ca. 1480. For another example, see below, note 70.
69. See H. Weskott, *Die Darstellung der Tobiasgeschichte in der bildenden Kunst West-Europas (Von den Anfängen bis zum 19 Jahrhundert)* (Berlin, 1974), pp. 14–15; Achenbach (note 67), pp. 76–77; and Gombrich (note 67), p. 26.
70. A book of hours from the second half of the fifteenth century illuminated by Ambrogio da Cermenate (Biblioteca Trivulziana, Milan, Cod. n. 479, fol. 125v) includes a scene of the Journey of Raphael and Tobias with the text "Misso pro itinerantibus"; see C. Santoro, *I codici miniati della Biblioteca Trivulziana* (Milan, 1958), pp. 34–35.
71. It is possible that Raphael was the name saint of the donor, but given the widespread cult of the archangel, this need not be the case.
72. On the economic status of Lyons, see S. Charléty, *Histoire de Lyon* (Lyons, 1903), pp. 68–74; A. Latreille et al., *Histoire de Lyon et du lyonnais* (Toulouse, 1975), p. 133ff.; and Gascon (note 6), passim.
73. On Italians in Lyons, see H. La Rivière, *Les florentins à Lyon* (Lyons, 1893), and Gascon, vol. 1 (note 6), p. 389.
74. Ibid.
75. De Hamel ([note 6], p. 185) suggests that the Lyonnais scribe Guillaume Lambert may have been the owner of a bookstore, since the reference to Lambert's "maison" in the Quaritch

inscription is suggestive of a shop and bookstore.

76. These include: Nicholas of Tolentino (Sept. 10 and April 14), Peter of Verona (April 29), Bernardino of Siena, Apostle of Italy (May 20); Urban (pope) and Zenobius, Bishop of Florence (May 25); Anthony of Padua (June 13, Nov. 13); Bernard of Messina (June 15); and Clare of Assisi (Aug. 12). Cerasoli (note 48), p. 76, identifies the calendar as central Italian.
77. In the first instance, "Basil" is misspelled as "Blasii."
78. John Plummer informs me that the closest similarities to the Getty calendar (aside from the Vatican work)—that is, works with agreement of 67.7% to 76.4%—are all Flemish calendars. He also sees the Getty litany (and the nearly identical ones of the Vatican and Cava) as closest to Flemish works, mostly from Bruges. It should be noted that the calendar of the Badia di Cava manuscript includes nearly all of the entries found in the Getty and Vatican works; but since it has more than twice as many entries as the other two, including many Italian saints (see note 76), the character of the calendar is markedly different.
79. Certainly it is possible that an Italian who passed through Lyons on a journey between Bruges and Italy could have purchased a Lyonnais manuscript, but it seems more likely that he would have been attracted to the much more famous Bruges products.
80. See the fuller discussion of the Getty and Vatican calendars above.
81. It remains an open question whether or not this trio of works was produced on commission or made for sale on the market. In the case of Getty Ms. 10, the high quality of the illuminations suggests that it may have been produced on commission: market books tend to be more uneven in quality and more derivative than the Getty miniatures. See Watson (note 57), p. 12.
82. One exception is that the Morgan *horae* includes David in Prayer for the Penitential Psalms.
83. The Quaritch work and Paris 3117 include the scene of Job on the Dunghill, whereas Rouen and Vienna show the Raising of Lazarus. The Morgan work, however, like the Getty work, does depict the burial scene with this office.
84. On similarities between the coloration of the Master of Guillaume Lambert and Colombe, see *Manuscrits à peintures* (note 7), p. 111.
85. For an illustration of the *Annunciation to the Shepherds,* see ibid., pl. 78, and for an illustration of the Boethius, see *Renaissance Painting* (note 25), pl. XXV.
86. These three masters probably even collaborated on some projects. Thus, some of the pages in the Badia di Cava manuscript are by a hand found in the Lambert group: for example, the Mary Magdalene page—fol. 177 (see Rotili [note 48], pl. LXXII)—is close in style to illuminations in the Rouen and Vienna *horae.*
87. On the narrow page format as typical of books around the year 1500, see Pächt and Thoss (note 3), p. 147.
88. Even if some Quaritch group works overlap in date with some works of the Rosenberg group, it is apparent that the Quaritch hand is responding more fully to late fifteenth-century and early sixteenth-century tendencies, while the Rosenberg hand is remaining closer to fifteenth-century traditions. For example, the Rosenberg hand maintains the tradition of representing David in Prayer with the Penitential Psalms and Litany, while the Quaritch works use the scene of David and Bathsheba, an iconographic shift that is more in line with late fifteenth-century trends; see *Französische Gotik und Renaissance in Meisterwerken der Buchmalerei,* exh. cat. (Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, 1978), p. 165. The theme of David and Bathsheba, however, does appear in manuscripts from Tours of the 1470s; see Plummer and Clark (note 3), pp. 44–45.
89. For example, the *David and Bathsheba* of Rouen—while its composition is very similar to that in Vienna—lacks the classicizing Roman masks depicted on the fountain in the Vienna version of the scene.
90. I am indebted to Nicole Reynaud for raising this possibility.

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The Sarcophagus of Titus Aelius Evangelus and Gaudenia Nicene

PETER J. HOLLIDAY

After a lifetime striving for rank and status in a fluid society, a Roman magnate wanted his worldly achievements acknowledged by contemporaries and remembered by posterity. A conspicuous funerary monument was one means of assuring permanent recognition, by fixing the deceased's identity through inscription and portrait. Although precedents for commemorating specific facts about the life and personal appearance of distinguished citizens are found in Etruscan sarcophagi and in cinerary urns from Tarquinia, Chiusi, and Volterra, the Imperial period provides the greatest variety of monuments that obsessively present the deceased to his fellow citizens. The front of a sarcophagus commissioned from an Ostian workshop in the second century A.D. by the wool merchant Titus Aelius Evangelus presents a striking example of one Roman freedman's struggle against oblivion (fig. 1a).[1]

DESCRIPTION OF THE MONUMENT

This marble panel presents an intriguing combination of diverse motifs. The monument is dominated by a central motif of the deceased, T. Aelius Evangelus, reclining on a dining couch (*kline*) at a funeral banquet: the traditional scene of the funeral feast (*Totenmahl*) (fig. 1b). The *kline* has turned legs, curved sides, and a backrest that is somewhat higher on the right side than the left. Evangelus is shown with a beard and short, thick hair and wears a short-sleeved tunic with a mantle wound around his lower body. He holds a wine cup in his left hand; with his right he offers a cluster of grapes to a woman who stands at the foot of the couch. In front of the *kline* stands a three-legged table and a raffia-wrapped bottle with its lid off. The table also holds a fish and some other object indicated by two difficult-to-decipher lines.

The woman approaches from the left with a small funeral garland in her lowered left hand and a wine cup in her outstretched right hand. She represents Evangelus's wife, Gaudenia Nicene. She wears an unusually long robe that does not quite reach her short boots and has elbow-length sleeves. In addition, a length of cloth, the *palla,* is wrapped around her lower body and bunched together around her waist like an apron. Her hair is combed back and fastened in a thick knot at the back of her head. A small, goatlike animal peeks from behind the woman's legs.

FIGURE 1a Sarcophagus of Titus Aelius Evangelus and Gaudenia Nicene. Late Antonine period, ca. AD.161–80. Marble, H: 46.4 cm (18 5/16 in.); L: 173 cm (68 1/8 in.); Depth (right end): 9 cm (7/8 in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AA.701.

FIGURE 1b Left and central section of figure 1a.

To the left, a second bearded man sits on a stool, his features strikingly similar to those of the reclining Evangelus. He wears high boots and a knee-length tunic whose sleeves reach the elbow. This type of tunic is a work garment and features a wide band of cloth wrapped around the waist. A chairlike frame (*pectinarius*) rises before the seated figure, and a small table holding a ball of wool stands adjacent to the frame.

The scene at the far left edge of the sarcophagus front is illegible. Not only is the lower part badly worn, but originally this section was only coarsely chiseled and never completed. On a projecting rock in a sketchy landscape, at about the height of the seat of the stool in the adjacent scene, a goatlike animal rears up against the trunk of a tree, its head raised into the lower branches, where it nibbles at the leaves. The groundline on which the creature stands slopes down abruptly toward the left. Beneath the tree, in the lower register thus created, lies what may be another goatlike animal with its head raised.[2]

The line of the dining couch continues to the right of the *kline,* becoming a groundline that rises gradually toward the right but ends before reaching the edge, thereby dividing that part of the panel into two horizontal registers (fig. 1c). The lower zone is dominated by a large instrument that is clearly a scale. Somewhat to the right of the scale's center is an object shaped like an amphora, probably representing a weight. In the register above the projecting groundline, just to the right of the funeral couch, a young man attempts to lead a horse that appears to be unwilling to follow through an arched doorway. The young man's body faces left, toward the horse, but he turns his head around awkwardly on his shoulders to look to the right at his twin, who raises his hands over his head like a victorious athlete and stomps about in a curious dance. At this point the groundline meets a table and slopes upward to allow more space for a motif at the far right. On top of the hill thus created stands a third figure, a woman who walks toward the right but turns back and gestures to the two men. The men wear knee-length, long-sleeved belted tunics; they also wear oriental trousers (*anaxyrides*), short boots, and Phrygian caps. The woman has long hair rolled up on the sides and knotted in the back. She wears a robe with short sleeves; with her left hand she holds a cloth draped over her left shoulder.

On the far right of the relief a young man sits on a stool and faces a low table at the left. He wears shoes and a short-sleeved garment that ends below the knees. The man winds the thick strands of wool into a ball out of the *calathus,* or wool basket, placed beneath the table.

On the remnants of the left short end of the sarcophagus are what appear to be the hindquarters of a sheep turned to the left. The right short end, only roughed in by the artist, may show the vestiges of the hindquarters of two sheep placed one above the other and turned to the right.

An inscription (see fig. 1d), placed in the relief ground to run across the upper edge of the sarcophagus and under the funeral couch, reads: *FUERIT POST ME ET POST GAUDENIA NICENE VETO*

FIGURE 1c Central and right section of figure 1a.

ALIUM; QUISQUIS HUNC TITULUM LEGERIT,/ MI ET ILLEI FECI,/ T(ITO) AELIO EVANGELO, / HOMINI PATIENTI,/ MERUM PROFUNDAT (That there be after me and after Gaudenia Nicene any other person [inhumed in this tomb], I forbid; whoever reads this inscription, [which] I have made for me and for her, let him pour unmixed wine for Titus Aelius Evangelus, a patient man).

The artist has tried, with varying degrees of success, to create a multifaceted narrative by combining themes from four distinct traditions. The introduction of portraiture invests stock types with individuality. The representation of the deceased on the *kline* at a feast and toasted by his wife is reasonably juxtaposed with scenes from his profession, which undoubtedly financed the commission of this monument. Yet such representations of everyday commercial activity ill assort with the sarcophagus's other images of religious piety based on established mythological traditions or its elements of bucolic landscape, emblematic of the hope for a life hereafter; indeed, the last two themes are generally associated with monuments commissioned by upper-class patrons and members of the court circle. The social status and aspirations of the deceased undoubtedly affected the typology, style, and iconography of his funerary monument. An analysis of these iconographic details will not only help determine the time and place of manufacture but will also deepen our understanding of Roman art commissioned by middle-class patrons for private contexts and the contribution of such commissions to the development of Roman art as a whole.

FIGURE 1d Schematic view of figure 1a. Drawing by Martha Breen.

FIGURE 2 *Kline Loculusplatte.* Second century A.D. Marble, H: 61 cm (24 in.); L: 213 cm (83 7/8 in.). Ostia, Tomb 11, Necropolis of the Isola Sacra.

THE IMAGERY AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

All other motifs are subsidiary to the centrally placed *Totenmahl.* Evangelus elevates his right knee, tucks his left leg underneath it, and flexes his right foot so that a cock can perch on his toe. The cock, whose clarion crow awakens all, is an appropriate funerary motif. For example, it was commonly sacrificed to Mercury, the god who acts as both psychopompos (guide of the dead to the Otherworld) and patron deity of commerce, an association that makes the bird especially appropriate for this businessman.[3] Cocks and cockfights appear frequently on funerary altars and sarcophagi;[4] Cumont long ago identified the upright cock, victorious over his adversary, as a symbol of immortality.[5] In this context, Evangelus may well be vaunting his virility, as well as his taste for the popular sport of cockfighting. In addition, an ancient superstition held that if a cock was heard to crow during a banquet, someone nearby was about to die.[6]

The conventional manner in which Evangelus bends his legs derives from the standard pose of the sleeping shepherd on typical Endymion sarcophagi.[7] The pose became common on sarcophagus reliefs and *kline* portraits alike. The symbolism of the two motifs—the pastoral Endymion type and the funeral banquet—had become conflated in court art by the second century A.D.: both represent a state of spiritual bliss. The pose acquires an even deeper resonance here, for an allusion to the ancient shepherd is especially fitting for a man who made his fortune in wool.[8]

Such comparisons with monuments of court art have only limited validity when one is dealing with monuments commissioned by the middle classes. More revealing are details like the contrast between Gaudenia Nicene's everyday dress and the tunic and toga worn by Evangelus. Her garb represents a dramatic departure from the standard type for wives attending their husbands, or other women serving the deceased at the *Totenmahl.* Whereas those women are usually depicted in long, high-girdled, clinging garments and with loosely flowing hairstyles,[9] Gaudenia Nicene appears in a style appropriate for daily work.[10] The combination of this manner of dress with the formal portrait mode is certainly meant to have significance. It may allude to the support the hard-working Gaudenia gave her husband in his business; it may even indicate that she is still alive and a part of this world, while Evangelus has passed into the next.[11] Indeed, the prominence of the husband's toga recalls Juvenal's barb that in provincial Italian cities a man only wore his toga at his funeral.[12] Most likely, however, her costume denotes some difference in her legal status.[13] She may not have been an initiate in whatever cult assured her husband's immortality; it is also quite possible that she was a slave while he was a freedman.[14]

The still life of the bottle and small table covered with utensils is a standard *Totenmahl* motif, as illustrated by a marble relief from Ostia commemorating a grain merchant (fig. 2).[15] The grapes and wine held by

husband and wife are general Dionysiac symbols, appropriate to both banquet and funerary contexts. The garland held by Gaudenia Nicene is also an extremely common funerary motif,[16] and the deceased is often depicted with one in *kline* scenes.[17] As a separate motif, garlands are found on Roman funerary altars and urns,[18] are frequently depicted in tomb paintings and reliefs (usually on the tomb door or on the walls),[19] and are the primary decoration on so-called garland sarcophagi.[20] Their popularity probably reflects the Roman practice of offering flowers and garlands at graves and even planting elaborate funerary gardens.[21] It was a popular poetic belief that flowers were fertilized by the bodies buried at the gravesite,[22] and such floral displays were also thought to allude to the idyllic landscape of Elysium.[23]

The standard funerary motifs on this piece appear to have a double-edged significance: they are so closely interwoven with Evangelus's biographical circumstances that the two become inseparable. For example, dogs were a popular motif in two ancient funerary themes, the hunt and the banquet, and while hunting played no ostensible role in the life of Evangelus, the dog's more general association with faithfulness is appropriate here.[24] Canine imagery of *fides* appears in various guises in Roman sepulchral art (see fig. 2). One part of an elaborate sarcophagus lid in the Capitoline Museum, for example, depicts a couple seated upright on a couch in an affectionate embrace, their dog significantly beside them.[25] The funerary altar of Gaius Julius Philetus in the Vatican depicts the deceased, a recently freed slave, playing with a dog.[26] A *kline* monument in Copenhagen dated to the Trajanic period portrays the deceased reclining on the lid as if on a couch; a cup of wine, a garland, and a dog are prominently displayed.[27]

The small, goatlike creature standing at the feet of Evangelus's wife replaces the dog usually depicted at the funeral banquet and also picks up the thread of Endymion imagery. It has been suggested that the creature on the Getty sarcophagus is indeed a goat, thereby indicating that the deceased specialized in the production of goat wool.[28] Most goats, however, grow hair rather than wool. The Romans produced some fabrics from goat hair that were used for sails and awnings as well as for hair shirts worn by the poor, sailors, and those in mourning.[29] The manufacture and wholesale of this fabric to sailmakers and shippers in a seaport like Ostia must have been very lucrative. Nevertheless, even the long silky hair of the Turkish angora goat (commonly known as mohair) is

FIGURE 3 Sign from the wool shop of Verecundus. A.D. 50–79. Fresco. Pompeii, IX.7.7. The shopkeeper's patron deities are depicted on the upper register and work-related imagery below.

not combed before spinning, which is precisely the purpose of the *pectinarius* shown at the left. In fact, the breed of sheep most commonly raised for wool by the Romans resembled a small goat with brown fleece similar to the modern Soay sheep of St. Kilda.[30] This is probably the animal shown on the Getty sarcophagus.

The fulling, or washing of the fleece, was a noisome process that required trampling the fleece in vats of human urine; the fulling and dyeing of the wool therefore were usually done at an establishment separate from the other stages of processing the fleece.[31] Before the colored fleece can be spun into thread, however, it must be combed to align the fibers. That was the purpose of the *pectinarius.* The artist depicted a five-pronged tool attached to the frame on the Getty sarcophagus. The seated man appears to draw the wool through this frame with his right hand, while in his left he holds a smaller, three-pronged comb to remove any burrs and snags that might clog the larger instrument. Similar details are more clearly visible in the lower section of a wall painting at Pompeii depicting the wool-working establishment of Verecundus (IX.7.7);[32] the painting depicts a wool comber fron-

FIGURE 4 Grave stele of Caius Pupius. Mid-first century B.C. Marble, H: 228 cm (89¾ in.); W: 80 cm (31½ in.); Diam: 24 cm (9 7/16 in.). Parma, Museo Nazionale di Antichità.

tally, so that the structure of his frame is intelligible (fig. 3). The wool was then rolled into a thick, loose strand (called the roving) from which it was spun. The combing, spinning, and weaving were probably done on the same premises.[33]

The scale represented in the zone to the lower right of the *Totenmahl* is the kind found in a wool-worker's establishment, identified by the large hooks from which the roving was suspended.[34] The grave stele of the freedman Caius Pupius, a dyer (*purpurarius*), depicts a similar scale on which the skeins of the roving hang down in large loops (fig. 4).[35] Each day in the shop the combed wool was weighed out into portions (the *pensum*) and given to the workers to spin into more refined threads.[36] This crucial task was overseen by the foreman, the *lanipendius* of the workshop.[37] The scale therefore denotes the intermediate step between combing and spinning.

The young man seated at the far right edge of the relief represents the third and final stage of wool production. The curved line on the ball of wool just above his left hand suggests that this is probably the distaff, or *colus,* onto which he rolls the wool in preparation for spinning. A second, thistle-shaped object on the table is probably a spindle with the newly spun thread wound around it. In effect, a chronological sequence of scenes emerges, running from left to right: combing, weighing, and spinning. The representation of each process on the Getty sarcophagus suggests that Evangelus owned and managed a workshop that produced finished woolen cloth known as a *textrinum*[38] or *textrina.*[39]

The traditional view holds that the production of cloth was a small-scale activity; the image of Augustus happily wearing homespun is frequently adduced. Yet in reality the empress Livia's household contained a large number of slaves who specialized in the manufacture, cleaning, and care of clothing.[40] During the Imperial period there were undoubtedly many establishments that transcended simple domestic production,[41] and although upper-class involvement in wool production has been suggested, the industry was probably dominated by freedmen.[42] One well-documented *textrina* was fashioned in the large house of the Minuci family at Pompeii (I.10.8); obscene graffiti indicate that five men and two women were employed there full-time, each specializing in different tasks.[43] The shop owned by Evangelus could have been on a similar scale, employing slaves, other freedmen, or even family members.[44]

Sarcophagi decorated with imagery drawn from

FIGURE 5 Endymion Sarcophagus. Mid-second century A.D. Marble. Rome, Museo Capitolino 725. This more traditional representation of pastoral imagery contrasts with innovations on the Getty sarcophagus.

the Endymion myth or other bucolic themes frequently depict goats or sheep climbing over a rocky terrain and eating the leaves of trees in a pastoral landscape similar to that at the far left of the Getty relief;[45] a shepherd, seated low to tend his animals, is also common (fig. 5).[46] The standard image of the shepherd, however, is replaced by the figure of the woolcomber on the Getty sarcophagus. Once again, a pastoral quotation from an aristocratic tradition meant to symbolize some general idea of paradise has been imbued with highly personal significance: here it illustrates the source of wealth that allowed Evangelus to commission this monument.

The three human figures and horse in the upper register to the right of the *kline* form a distinct group, yet their meaning remains problematic.[47] The two young men wear Phrygian caps, and the bands around their wrists suggest the wrapped hands of boxers; they are portrayed with such similar features that they appear to be twins. The presence of a horse, a standard attribute of the Dioscuri, indicates that they represent Castor and Pollux. The Dioscuri had a temple in Ostia (but not in any other Roman port town), where their worship was a state cult under official direction from Rome.[48] At Ostia they were worshiped as sea-gods who had the power to calm winds and allay storms at sea, a conception that was probably Greek in origin[49] and was introduced to Ostia from the ports of southern Italy when Ostia first became a harbor of importance around the third century B.C.[50] Finally, the Dioscuri were also patrons of tradesmen;[51] the evidence suggests that they exercised a strong appeal to the large population of Greek extraction at Ostia involved in various aspects of maritime commerce.

The Dioscuri are frequently shown in the company of a female figure whose identity is still disputed. The persons most frequently suggested are their sister Helen or one of the three deities most often identified as the Samothracian female goddess: Cybele, Demeter, or Hecate. Helen herself was wor-

FIGURE 6 Figurine of Attis. Probably third century B.C. Terra-cotta. From Amphipolis. Paris, Musée du Louvre CA 1946.

shiped as a deity in various parts of the Roman Empire until quite late in the Imperial period.[52] This vignette might represent Helen welcoming her brothers to immortality on Olympus.[53] Arches often symbolize a demarcation separating mundane existence from the afterlife, this world from Elysium; passage through an arch would therefore represent such an *adventus,* or even the transition from mortality to immortality. This imagery would be highly appropriate for a sarcophagus, creating overtones of the Endymion imagery that plays such an important role in this monument: with the divine gift of eternal sleep, the mortal shepherd-boy Endymion became immortal.

Yet this desire for a peaceful afterlife is also appropriate to the Samothracian deities. The cult of the Great Gods at Samothrace included a triad composed of a female deity and the Kabeiroi, ancient Phrygian deities who became associated with the Dioscuri during the Hellenistic period.[54] It is tempting to suppose the deceased, whose origins seem to have been in Asia Minor,[55] was a *mystes* of the cult of Samothrace. In this context the peculiar stance of the male figure closest to the goddess might prove significant. Close parallels are provided by the numerous images of Attis in oriental costume wildly dancing with arms and hands raised above his head;[56] one particularly fine terra-cotta figurine from Amphipolis strikes a pose similar to that depicted on the sarcophagus (fig. 6).[57] Cybele herself instructed Attis in the art of dance, and the myths surrounding the lovers specify two occasions for the *oklasma* dance: first, when the youth committed hubris against the Mother of the Gods and thereby forced her to drive him into ecstasy so that he would mutilate himself and die (*tristis*); second, when he danced after his return from the Netherworld as the newborn child Attis (*hilaria*).[58] The Romans held two related ceremonies in honor of Attis in March, the *tristia* commemorating his passion and death and the *hilaria* to celebrate his coming to life again after a long winter's sleep.[59] In addition, celebrants also danced at the great festival in honor of Cybele, or the *Magna Mater* as the Romans called her.[60]

The Getty sarcophagus, however, depicts two men in oriental dress. Although an altar to Cybele in Cambridge depicts the goddess flanked by two priests (known as *Galli*) in the oriental attire required by their cult,[61] even more pertinent may be an unusual Imperial-period relief from the Attideum in Ostia that represents Attis dying on the banks of the Gallus River, while next to a pine tree stands another young Attis who will replace the dead one.[62] It may be that the passage from life to afterlife suggested by the arch on the sarcophagus has in this way been conflated with a simliar iconography of death and rebirth. In addition, several animals connected with the drama of Attis are also depicted on the Ostian relief: a he-goat alluding to Attis *pastor,* a cock to the *gallus,* and a cow and bull to the sacrificial *taurobolium.* The first two creatures also play an important role in the iconography of the Getty sarcophagus; their possible symbolic significance discussed above may also suggest associations with the cult of Attis and Cybele. Finally, representations of Attis *tristis* draw from the same general iconographic traditions as the image of the sleeping Endymion, also an influential source for the Getty artist.[63]

Certainly the worship of Cybele and Attis was important in Ostia, where a large sanctuary to the cult was established during the reign of Hadrian.[64] But the dancing figure may also have some secular significance. Seneca describes a "fuller's dance,"[65] which was apparently derived from trampling on a fleece in a vat of urine, the single step in the processing of wool not

otherwise represented on the sarcophagus.[66] Although the dance depicted here appears to be an expression of exuberant joy, an additional allusion to wool-processing may not have been accidental. As has been demonstrated, this piece is rife with themes and motifs drawn from diverse traditions that are synthesized to create images full of idiosyncratic significance to the deceased.

An identification of these three figures with the Samothracian deities conflates the traditional imagery of Attis with that of the Dioscuri, and the resulting connection between Cybele and the Kabeiroi/Dioscuri would help fix the disputed identity of the Great Gods at Samothrace. The female figure, however, does not bear any of the distinctive attributes associated with Cybele, or with Demeter or Hecate. One other possible identification for this figure, less rich in potential symbolism but a logical choice in the present context, is the goddess Minerva, the patron deity of the textile industry. Perhaps the simplest interpretation of all is to read these three figures as representations of Evangelus's patron deities, paralleling the practice in which shop signs juxtaposed scenes of work with depictions of the proprietor's divine benefactors. The painting from the shop of Verecundus at Pompeii depicts the felt manufacturer's patron deities (Venus in an elephant-drawn quadriga flanked by Isis/Fortuna and a Genius) in the upper register and work-related imagery below (fig. 3). Similarly, the relief of the grain merchant from Ostia depicts Ceres and Mercury, his special protectors, on either side of the central *Totenmahl* (fig. 2). Following this tradition, the depiction of three patron deities on the Getty sarcophagus would complement the biographical imagery related to Evangelus's origins and occupation. Yet the female figure does not bear any recognizable attributes of Minerva either. Therefore, the exact identity of these three figures must remain uncertain.

Iconographic and stylistic details, however, do provide some evidence for dating the piece. The portrait heads of Evangelus and Gaudenia Nicene compare with Imperial types of the late Antonine period, circa A.D. 180 to 190.[67] Although Evangelus's hair and short beard are similar to those of the Hadrianic period, they are much less coloristic in treatment.[68] Rather, the waves falling in layers to frame the face, leaving the ear exposed, and the raised mass of the beard, gently stippled with the chisel, have closer affinities with the portraits of the emperors Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, and Commodus.[69] The treatment of the eyes—the marking of the pupils, their heavy-lidded quality and exaggerated proportions—are also reminiscent of the eyes of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus. The coiffure of Gaudenia Nicene, however, parted in the center and drawn back across her ears into a large knot covering the back of her head from nape to crown, only compares well with the portraits of Crispina, the wife of Commodus.[70] This simple coiffure, the meeting of two masses, differs from the hairstyles on the portraits of Faustina Maior, the wife of Antoninus Pius, and Faustina Minor, the wife of Marcus Aurelius, who wears a similar coiffure but with a smaller, thinner knot.[71]

A Severan date was first suggested for the piece,[72] perhaps possible if the deceased couple were conservative in their hairstyles.[73] However, none of the strongly textured effects of the Severan style are evident in this relief. Rather, the carving is mostly chiselwork; the sketchy, tentative quality of the lines results in blurred contours that soften the forms. (A woolly effect is particularly evident in the drapery and is highly appropriate, considering the commercial activity Evangelus commemorates; but the effect is probably not deliberate.) The style of the drapery folds and the restrained use of the drill also indicate that the work was executed in the middle or late Antonine period.[74]

The sculptor has shown only tentative interest in the differentiation and depiction of textures: the soft pliability of flesh is not distinguished from cloth. This kind of simplification is frequently found in plebeian reliefs of this period.[75] Although the stylistic qualities defined as "plebeian" are as varied as the class from which the term drew its name,[76] general characteristics include shallow relief with little modeling, a drive for legibility and clarity of detail, a subjective manipulation of scale, and simplified spatial relationships that avoid the overlapping of forms and perspectival recession into depth.[77] In addition, on the Getty relief details are presented in the form of flattened symbols: all furniture is perpendicular to the relief plane, the creature at Gaudenia Nicene's feet has only one leg and half a body, the wool-comber and boy winding wool have each lost a leg in the interests of simplification, and the tabletop before the *kline* is tilted up to show the objects upon it. The figures lack plasticity and, except for the portraits of Evangelus and Gaudenia Nicene, exhibit a flatness in their lower bodies; nor are the figures seen in any logical spatial context.

The awkward movements of the figures and the coarseness of the carving indicate that the Getty sarcophagus was carved in a provincial workshop rather

than in the city of Rome.[78] Indeed, the panel lacks the projecting border that is always found at the top of sarcophagi from the capital.[79] While commonly found on Ostian reliefs (see fig. 2) and even a few Ostian sarcophagi, images of work are extremely rare on Imperial sarcophagi from Rome.[80] During the Imperial period, Ostia witnessed great prosperity and population growth, initiated by the construction of the harbor at Portus under Claudius and its expansion under Trajan.[81] In this environment freedmen amassed immense fortunes in trade and business, and they used their wealth to acquire social and political prestige in the *municipium.* Many successful freedmen began to commission their own funerary memorials;[82] artisans in Ostia modified, supplemented, or executed in simplified form models from Rome for plebeian customers.[83] In addition, new themes were introduced for freedmen wanting to commemorate their professional status on their monuments. Thus, the representations of occupations found at Ostia from this period not only indicate the city's expansion as a commercial center and conduit of capital but also document the growing importance of the plebeian class as patrons of art.

THE EPIGRAPHICAL EVIDENCE

As has been indicated, stylistic peculiarities and traits are not a particularly reliable means to establish the chronology of monuments produced outside the court circle. Indeed, the most persuasive evidence for dating the Getty sarcophagus to the Antonine period lies in its epitaph. Certainly the inscription was an important part of the funerary dedication: the Roman *nomen* of the wool merchant was as much a sign of citizenship as his toga, and both were as important in death as in life.[84] During the funerary rites, for example, all the near relatives called upon the deceased by name (*inclamare, conclamare*).[85] The prominence of the inscription on this monument, placed centrally in the figural field, underscores its significance for Evangelus.

During the late Republic and Augustan periods, a surname (*cognomen*) had been standard only among the upper classes. During the Imperial period, *libertini* began to retain the name by which they had been known as slaves as a *cognomen* when, on manumission, they took the *nomen gentile* and (usually) *praenomen* of their patron.[86] When, in the Imperial period, *cognomina* began to be generally used by the poorer classes, a prejudice seems to have grown against Greek names, as they were thought to suggest servile descent.[87] Indeed, it has been demonstrated that most of the funerary inscriptions honoring slaves and freedmen in Rome include Greek *cognomina.*[88] On the Getty sarcophagus not only is the deceased's *cognomen,* Evangelus, a Greek word, but his wife's *ethnicon,* Nicene, derived from Nicaea in Bithynia, is retained as her *cognomen.*[89] In this context it is interesting to note that parts of Greece and Asia Minor were important centers of wool production.[90] The *cognomina* of the dedicants, however, do not necessarily prove Greek origins or servile descent,[91] although nomenclature provides additional clues.

The emperor Hadrian's predilection for Greeks is well known, and he was an influential emperor in the Roman ports of Ostia and Puteoli. Hadrian's *nomen* was Aelius: Publius Aelius Hadrianus. His successor, Antoninus Pius, began life as Titus Aurelius Fulvius Boionius Antoninus; when adopted by Hadrian in A.D. 138, he became Titus Aelius Caesar Antoninus. Imperial slaves usually passed from one emperor to another; when freed they took the *praenomen* and *nomen* of the manumitting emperor.[92] Freedmen of the Imperial families commissioned numerous inscriptions throughout the second century. Therefore, Titus Aelius Evangelus may convincingly be identified as a freedman of Antoninus Pius, or at least someone suitably placed to take those names.[93]

The inscription is placed with some sophistication: Evangelus's name begins below his image on the funerary *kline,* echoing traditional tombstones (figs. 1b and 1d). There is nothing about the epitaph to indicate whether Evangelus or his wife had already died.[94] Indeed, the sarcophagus is probably an example of the practice whereby funerary monuments were commissioned during the lives of those for whom they were intended.[95] This particular type of inscription was a common one in which the deceased addresses those who pass by as though he were still living and requests an offering—here undiluted wine—at the tomb.[96]

The prohibition *veto alium quisquis* is carved in place of an inscription that was eradicated.[97] This prohibition against reuse is related to a type commonly placed on graves,[98] but generally those were whole tombs with plots of land, the kind of *monumentum* the freedman Trimalchio describes.[99] Such prohibitions, however, usually occur on a *Loculusplatte* rather than sarcophagi. The former type of relief marks the burial place in a tomb or catacomb and occasionally resembles a sarcophagus panel in composition and dimensions (see fig. 2). Nevertheless, the indications that the Getty panel had carved ends to the right and left prove

that it came from a sarcophagus.[100] Therefore, the prohibition and direct address to the passerby suggest that this sarcophagus was displayed prominently in a tomb complex at one of the cemeteries of Ostia or Portus Augusti at Isola Sacra, north of Ostia,[101] similar to the sculptural *kline* monuments set up in front of tombs.[102]

The character of the language of the inscription is subliterate, both in spelling and punctuation.[103] It exhibits numerous phonetic spellings, ellipses, and asyndeta that set it apart from the written forms of contemporary Silver Latin prose and instead reflect the spoken language of the period. The departures from standard written Latin indicate that whoever composed the inscription lacked familiarity with those forms. This further suggests the lower social standing of the deceased, or certainly the lower status of the craftsman who composed and engraved the inscription. The epitaph is an example of the language of the lower classes (*sermo plebeius*) found, appropriately, on a plebeian funerary monument.

CONCLUSION

When slaves were manumitted from the *familia Caesaris* they usually honored the emperor by taking his *praenomen* and *nomen.* Roman freedmen continued to serve the empire by pursuing careers in the professions or in those industrial and commercial enterprises shunned by highborn Romans.[104] The evidence of both the work-related imagery and accompanying inscription indicates that Titus Aelius Evangelus had once been a slave in the Imperial household and later prospered in the wool trade as a freedman. The two names suggest Greek-speaking origins for Evangelus and Gaudenia Nicene, an identification further supported by other details in the relief, such as the presence of deities probably associated with a cult popular among eastern Greeks and the deceased's specialization in the production of a textile that even in antiquity was associated with Greece and Greek-settled Anatolia. The epitaph indicates that Evangelus was poorly educated in Latin—indeed, he may not have read it at all—yet his name and toga proudly proclaim his Roman citizenship.

Evangelus used a part of the fortune he amassed through the wool trade to commission this memorial. Sarcophagi were expensive and are therefore generally associated with the upper classes; scholars have customarily described them as an aristocratic phenomenon.[105] Although freedmen had traditionally ordered funerary urns and altars, with the advent of inhumation in the second century A.D. and concomitant changes in religious beliefs and artistic tastes, more patrons began to purchase elaborately decorated sarcophagi.[106] The Getty sarcophagus provides important evidence that sarcophagi were not an exclusively aristocratic art form. Middle-class patrons had their own artistic preferences and employed their own artists, producing a distinctive class of monuments not found elsewhere in Roman art. Roman artists adopted their plebeian patrons' aesthetic preferences to interpret motifs that derive from, and have parallels in, aristocratic models; many themes drawn from daily life, however, originated in plebeian workshops. The banquet, which had summed up the ideal of aristocratic existence in Etruscan art,[107] became the favored theme for freedmen's *kline* monuments,[108] while the commemoration of careers was also a middle-class choice (see fig. 4).[109] Both themes are prominent on the Getty sarcophagus. During the early Imperial period, the taste for works of art whose subjects were drawn from Greek mythology was largely confined to the upper classes, whose education ensured an appreciation for and understanding of mythological expressions of heroism and virtue. By the second century, however, there was an increasing acceptance of mythological themes in the funerary art of freedmen.[110] Pastoral imagery drawn from the Endymion tradition also pervades the Getty sarcophagus, and the three divinities had, at the very least, some cultic significance.

It may well be that it is in the choice of genre and motif, perhaps more than in the style, that the taste of the working class expressed itself.[111] The motifs combined on this sarcophagus—funerary banquet, work imagery, religious piety, and bucolic landscape—are from extremely diverse traditions and are unparalleled on any other monument. The resultant assemblage is, admittedly, not always successful. Themes normally seen through the lens of the court style can appear crude when interpreted by a provincial workshop. The interrelated imagery can be confusing, and it is tempting to ascribe the ambiguity of some motifs, such as the vignette of the Dioscuri and goddess, to the same kind of confusion Petronius has Trimalchio display when the freedman ignorantly mangles classical myths. Yet much of the confusion may simply result from our insufficient knowledge: Evangelus spared no effort in filling the relief with detail to commemorate different aspects of his life. He hoped to immortalize his Roman name and unique physiognomy, and to that extent he succeeded.

FIGURE 7 *Loculusplatte* of Titus Aelius Evangelus. Second century A.D. Marble, 29 x 49 cm (11 7/16 x 19 5/16 in.). Los Angeles, Numismatic Fine Arts M 805.

APPENDIX

As noted above, Imperial freedmen commissioned numerous sepulchral inscriptions during the second century; many feature the *nomen* Aelius. A marble panel currently on the market appears to be related to the Getty relief (fig. 7);[112] it has even been suggested that this relief may have comprised an end panel of the Getty sarcophagus. Since the Getty sarcophagus has evidence of sheep carved on its ends,[113] however, this panel was probably a separate *Loculusplatte.* The central image of a bearded man seated on a stool at work carding woolen fibers dominates this panel. He is surrounded by other items related to the wool trade: reading clockwise from the upper left corner, a large ball of wool and a scale with an amphora-shaped weight are suspended from knobs on the wall; a thick strand falls from another ball of wool into a *calathus*; and a slightly larger *calathus* holds additional skeins of wool. Not only does the man look very much like Evangelus, but an inscription placed on either side of the work scene identifies a same-named dedicant, suggesting that either a like-named father and son are represented or, more likely, that the same individual was responsible for both commissions. The inscription, without punctuation except for the first two lines, should be read across despite being broken by the scene: *T. AELIUS EVANGELUS CONPARAVIT SIBI ET ULPIAE FORTUNATAE CONIUCI CARISSIMAE SU(A)E CONCESSUS IBIDEM ULPIO TELESPHORO ITEM GAUDENIAE MARCELLINAE FILIAE NATURALI CONCESSIT T. AELIUS EVANGELUS LIBIIRTIS QUII LUBIIRTABU* (Titus Aelius Evangelus prepared [this tomb] for himself and Ulpia Fortunata, his very dear wife. It has been granted to Ulpius Telesphorus in the same place. Likewise Titus Aelius Evangelus has granted [burial here] to Gaudenia Marcellina his natural daughter).

Ulpius Telesphorus may have been a friend of Titus Aelius Evangelus. There are other instances in which freedmen allowed space for friends in their tombs, often tradesmen with whom they had worked closely,[114] which suggests a very different attitude toward the tomb than one sees among upper-class Roman families.[115] As noted above in the discussion of the Getty sarcophagus inscription, the names provide evidence of the social and ethnic backgrounds of those listed here. For example, the Greek *cognomen* Telesphorus may indicate that he came from the eastern part of the empire;[116] while it is difficult to determine whether he was a freedman or freeborn but of slave extraction, his Greek *cognomen* suggests servile descent.[117] In addition, the *nomen* Ulpius suggests a connection with the *familia Caesaris* of Trajan: Marcus Ulpius Traianus. Perhaps Telesphorus was a useful friend in a powerful position, a valuable connection for Evangelus with the Imperial bureaucracy following the reign of Antoninus Pius.

If this panel were carved for the same man as was the Getty sarcophagus, Ulpia Fortunata would probably be his second wife;[118] at the very least, she must postdate Gaudenia Nicene, since Evangelus already had a child by her, the Gaudenia Marcellina named below. In funerary monuments dedicated by slaves, freedmen, and their descendants, *coniux* is the term usually used to describe a wife,[119] although it does not necessarily mean legal wife in late Latin.[120] Her *nomen* again suggests a connection with the *familia Caesaris* of Trajan, and Ulpia Fortunata may be a *conliberta* with Ulpius Telesphorus, or perhaps his daughter born after manumission, thereby reinforcing the ties between Evangelus and Telesphorus.

Not only did children of freedmen often derive their names from their mothers[121] but, according to Roman law, children had the same social status as their mothers.[122] The *nomen* of Gaudenia Marcellina suggests that she was the daughter of Gaudenia Nicene, perhaps born while her mother was still a slave to the Gaudenius family. This may provide an additional clue to the significance of Gaudenia Nicene's depiction in everyday dress serving the toga-clad Evangelus on the sarcophagus relief. Gaudenia Marcellina does not have the usual patronymic of free-born daughters, her father's *nomen gentile.* That she does not bear his name helps explain Evangelus's anxiety to provide for her, his concern to legitimize the child of his body (*filiae naturali*) by giving her burial space in the tomb he established for his family and close associates.

The final phrase, a variant of the *libertis libertabusque* found in many epitaphs, was a formula by which the patron granted burial rights within the tomb to his freedmen.[123] The practice was initiated in the late Republic, when households were smaller and the bonds developed there were particularly strong; the legal phrase had become so common by the end of the second century that it was declared invalid.[124] Its appearance here transcends mere funerary cliché and bolsters the impression of the extensive wealth of Evangelus, lending credence to an impression of large numbers of slaves and freedmen employed in the wool magnate's enterprises.[125] The misspellings do not occur in the rest of the inscription.

It is possible that these words were added later, perhaps at the request of Evangelus, who, to judge from the inscription on the Getty sarcophagus, was not highly literate in Latin.

The *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* lists several Aelii in Ostia but none with names close to that on the Getty sarcophagus. There is, however, one exact match from Rome itself.[126] Found during the excavation at the base of a hill behind the basilica of San Paolo, the marble slab contains a funerary inscription: *D.M. T. AELIUS EVANGELUS FECIT SIBI ET AELIAE TELESPHORIDI AMICAE OPTIMAE ET LIB LIBERT Q P EORUM* (T. Aelius Evangelus made [this tomb] for himself and his best friend Aelia Telesphorides).

This Titus Aelius Evangelus could be a freedman of the dedicant of the Getty sarcophagus, or the man who freed him. The two may be a like-named father and son (perhaps the latter is the young man depicted winding wool at the far right on the Getty sarcophagus), or they may not be related at all. The woman's name uses a Greek patronymic ending: the *-ides* suggests that she is the daughter of the Ulpius Telesphorus mentioned in the inscription above. Yet in that case she bears a *nomen gentile* different from that of her father. Perhaps Aelia Telesphorides was born while her father was still a slave. It may be that Evangelus bought her in order to free her for his friend Ulpius; but then he would probably call her his freedwoman, not his "best friend." Then again, perhaps she was sold to the Aelius family while Evangelus was still a slave there; they may have become friends, and Evangelus may have established his connection to her father in that setting. Finally, Aelia Telesphorides may even have been Evangelus's mistress.

The final line is another variation on the phrase *libertis libertabusque posterisque eorum,* guaranteeing burial rights in the tomb to the dedicants' freedmen who died after them. Yet, if taken literally, why would Evangelus and Aelia have freedmen in common? It seems probable that the phrase was used in a formulaic manner, without concern for the grammatical consequences that might bedevil later scholars.

The repetition of names on these sepulchral inscriptions demonstrates exceedingly complex familial relationships among freedmen in the Imperial period. The possible affinities suggested here indicate that patterns established for the court circle do not hold for all classes in the Imperial period and that, like the artistic conventions seen in the Getty sarcophagus, this evidence demands further exploration of contemporary models developed for a rising mercantile class.

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NOTES

Marveling at the complexity of its imagery, Guntram Koch first encouraged me to work on this piece. I first presented some of the interpretations proposed in this article at meetings of the Art Historians of Southern California and the Classical Archaeological Society of Southern California. Several colleagues shared their impressions about the problems inherent in this piece; the generous contributions of Christopher Baswell, David Jordan, Barbara Kellum, and Jane Whitehead have been particularly enlightening. I am also grateful to Kenneth Hamma, Marit Jentoft-Nilsen, and Karen Manchester of the J. Paul Getty Museum, who facilitated my access to resources in their collection. The abbreviations in the following notes conform to the suggestions of the *American Journal of Archaeology* 95 (1991).

1. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AA.701. Guntram Koch describes its present state of conservation:

   > Only the front of the sarcophagus is preserved; the short ends and bottom were sawed off in modern times. A break, somewhat to the right of the middle, begins beneath the middle leg of the table and runs diagonally upward to the right, in front of the horse's head and through the last two letters of the inscription, where a small piece has been restored. There is some damage on the bottom of the left front and chips in other places. The right corner on the upper edge of the relief has a depression for a clamp; perhaps this represents a repair undertaken in antiquity. A hole has been chiseled in the upper left corner, perhaps for a clamp to hold the lid. There is no projecting border at the top. At the bottom, an irregularly projecting marble mass serves as a groundline for the figures.

   Bibliography: J. Cody, *Summa Galleries Catalogue, Auction* 1 (Beverly Hills, Ca.; Sept. 18, 1981), no. 75; J. Whitehead, "Biography and Formula in Roman Sarcophagi" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1984); G. Koch, *Catalogue of Roman Reliefs in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Malibu, 1988), no. 9, pp. 24–27.
2. Cody (note 1) suggests that this form represents a man dragging a goat by the neck. I can find no evidence for this reading.
3. On the sarcophagus of a wine merchant in Ancona, the patron deities of the deceased, Mercury and Dionysus, are depicted beneath flanking arches; Mercury is accompanied by a cock and a sheep: H. Gabelmann, "Circusspiele in der spätantiken Repräsentationskunst," *Antike Welt* 11.4 (1980), no. 81, pl. 48; G. Rodenwaldt, *AA* (1934), p. 287ff., fig. 1.
4. For example, a sarcophagus from Ostia portraying the deceased features a cockfight: S. A. Dayan and L. Musso in A. Giuliano, *Museo Nazionale Romano. Le Sculpture* I,2 (Rome, 1981), no. 11, pp. 100–102, with bibliography.
5. F. Cumont, *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des romains* (Paris, 1942), p. 398ff.
6. This superstition was the catalyst for a comical incident in the *cena Trimalchionis*: Petronius *Satyricon* 74. Jane Whitehead explores the semiotic parallels between Petronius's text and the genre of funerary art he describes in "The Cena Trimalchionis and Biographical Narration in Roman Middle Class Art," in P. J. Holliday, ed., *Narrative and Event in Ancient Art* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 299–325.
7. The relationship between the *Totenmahl* and Endymion motifs is treated fully by H. Sichtermann, *Späte Endymion-Sarcophage* (Baden-Baden, 1966).

8. Whitehead (note 1), p. 245, notes that the pose drawn from traditional Endymion imagery used for Evangelus was later adapted to representations of the Old Testament shepherd Jonah, a symbol of resurrection and eternal life in Early Christian art.
9. N. Kampen, "Meaning and Social Analysis of a Late Antique Sarcophagus," *BABesch* (1977–78), p. 225. For the more common type of dress, cf. Sichtermann (note 7), figs. 10, 12, 13, 17, 18, 29, and 41.
10. For comparanda, one might consider a mosaic from Zliten showing women doing agricultural work: S. Aurigemma, "I mosaici di Zliten," *Africa Italiana* 2 (1926), p. 84, fig. 50; a representation from the Isola Sacra at Ostia of a nurse aiding in childbirth: G. Calza, *La Necropoli del Porto di Roma nell'Isola Sacra* (Rome, 1940), fig. 148; and a bas-relief of a water-seller in Ostia, where the customer is a woman: ibid., fig. 157.
11. Against this interpretation, however, see my comments on a related panel appended to this article.
12. *Satires* 3. Writing in the second century A.D., Juvenal bitterly ridiculed the pretensions of ostentatious freedmen roughly contemporary with Evangelus.
13. On the early Augustan tomb relief of the Publius Gessius family, inscriptions indicate distinctions of legal status within the family: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 37.100. M. B. Comstock and C. C. Vermeule, *Sculpture in Stone* (Boston, 1976), no. 319, pp. 200–201; D. E. E. Kleiner, *Roman Group Portraiture* (New York, 1977), no. 41, pp. 219–20.
14. In support of this interpretation, see below for my comments on the inscription.
15. From Tomb 11 in the necropolis of the Isola Sacra at Ostia. Calza (note 10), no. 9, p. 200ff.; Sichtermann (note 7), pp. 31–32, pl. 18; N. Himmelmann, *Typologische Untersuchungen an römischen Sarkophagreliefs des 3. und 4. Jhs. n. Chr.* (Mainz, 1973), pp. 18–19, pl. 24b; R. Calza, *Scavi di Ostia* 9 (1977), pp. 41–42; G. Zimmer, "Getreidehändler in Ostia," *AA* (1983), pp. 133–36. On the utensils shown in representation of banquets, see Himmelmann, p. 20.
16. Cody (note 1) proposed that the object was a bit of wool, an intriguing but unlikely interpretation. For the garland motif on Roman sarcophagi, see Sichtermann (note 7), p. 30ff.
17. The motif has a long tradition in Italic art, found as early as archaic Etruscan treatments of the funeral banquet theme; cf. the Tomb of Hunting and Fishing in the necropolis of the Monterozzi at Tarquinia, ca. 530 B.C.: M. Sprenger and G. Bartoloni, *The Etruscans: Their History, Art, and Architecture* (New York, 1983), pp. 103–4, pls. 84–85; S. Steingräber, *Pittura etrusca* (Milan, 1984), no. 50, pp. 299–300.
18. D. E. E. Kleiner, *Roman Imperial Funerary Altars with Portraits* (Rome, 1987), p. 75. Kleiner notes that in Roman examples the formal motif was drawn from state monuments such as the Ara Pacis Augustae but in a funerary context was imbued with sepulchral overtones.
19. Cf. the Tomb of the Garlands at Pompeii: V. Kockel, *Die Grabbauten vor dem Herkulaner Tor in Pompeii* (Mainz, 1983), pl. 41.
20. Cf. G. Koch and H. Sichtermann, *Römische Sarkophage. Handbuch der Archäologie* (Munich, 1982), p. 223ff., with additional references.
21. J. M. C. Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World* (Ithaca, 1971), pp. 94–100. Toynbee suggests that the technical term *cepotaphium* or *cepotafium* implies that, at least prior to the second century A.D., sepulchral gardens were especially popular in the Greek-speaking provinces.
22. R. Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs* (Urbana, 1962), pp. 129–31, 135–40. See also Koch and Sichtermann (note 20), p. 54.
23. Toynbee (note 21), p. 95, and Koch and Sichtermann (note 20), p. 54. See below for my comments about the bucolic landscape depicted on this panel.
24. Although the origins of the motif can be traced back to Sumerian art, beginning with the Greek tradition the dog probably represents a household pet and an element of aristocratic life: J. M. Dentzer, "Le motif du banquet couché dans le Proche-Orient et le monde Grec du VIIe au IVe siècle avant J.-C.," *MEFRA* 94 (1982), p. 442, cites Theognis of Megara (2.1249, 1253–54), who quotes Solon.
25. H. Stuart Jones, *The Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino* (Oxford, 1912), pp. 313–14, pl. 78.
26. Kleiner (note 18), no. 11, dates it to A.D. 54–55. Kleiner proposes that one of the deceased's duties was to care for the family's pet dog, which also seems likely.
27. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 777. Koch and Sichtermann (note 20), pl. 65; H. Wrede, "Stadtrömische Monumente, Urnen und Sarkophage des Klinentypus in den beiden ersten Jahrhunderten nach Christ," *AA* (1977), p. 423, fig. 108. Whitehead (note 6) suggests that in this instance the dog represents a more general convivial virtue such as friendship.
28. Cody (note 1).
29. Varro *De re rustica* 2.11.11–12; Columella 50.7.6. See Whitehead (note 1), p. 246.
30. J. P. Wild, "Textiles," in D. Strong and D. Brown, *Roman Crafts* (New York, 1976), p. 176. An improved stock with finer, whiter fleece was developed in late antiquity by selective breeding from the Soay-type.
31. For images of fullers at work, see a grave monument in the museum at Sens: G. Julliot, *Musée Gallo-romain de Sens* (Sens, 1891), p. 85, pl. 9; M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* 1 (Oxford, 1957), pls. 38.1 and .7; and also a drawing after a painting from the fullery of Hypsaeus in Pompeii (VI.vii.20–21) showing fullers treading cloth: W. O. Moeller, *The Wool Trade of Ancient Pompeii* (Leiden, 1976), p. 21, fig. 1.
32. Rostovtzeff (note 31), pl. 16.2; K. Schefold, *Die Wände Pompejis* (Berlin, 1957), p. 267f.; J. M. Dentzer, "La tombe de C. Vestorius dans la tradition de la peinture italique," *MEFRA* (1962), pp. 533–94; J. P. Wild, *Textile Manufacture in the Northern Roman Provinces* (Cambridge, 1970), pl. 2; W. O. Moeller, *AJA* 75 (1971), p. 188f.
33. Moeller (note 31), p. 78.
34. Whitehead (note 1), p. 250.
35. Parma, Museo Nazionale di Antichità; dated to the late Republic. H. Dütschke, *Antike Bildwerke in Oberitalien* 5 (Leipzig, 1874–82), p. 949; H. Blümner, *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern* 1 (1879–87), pp. 247–48; A. Neuburger, *Die Technik des Altertums* (1919), p. 192, pl. 250; R. Scarani, *Museo Nazionale di Antichità* (Parma, 1965), p. 152, pl. 90; A. M. Colini, *Museo della civiltà romana* (Rome, 1964), no. 76, p. 621; G. Zimmer, "Römische Berufsdarstellungen," *ArchForsch* 12 (1982), no. 46, pp. 130–31.
36. Tibullus 2.1.63; Propertius 4.9.48; Virgil *Georgics* 4.348 and *Aeneid* 8.412; Isidore *Etym.* 19.29.3–4.
37. Moeller (note 31), p. 17. The epigraphical evidence shows both women and men worked in such establishments: *lanipendia* (*CIL* 6.9496–9498) and *lanipendius* (*CIL* 6.6300, 9495).
38. Vitruvius 6.4.2.
39. Apuleius *Flor.* 9.36.

40. *CIL* 6.3926–4326.
41. Moeller (note 31), pp. 4–8.
42. Ibid., pp. 98–104.
43. Ibid., p. 39.
44. See note 126. It should not be forgotten that Gaudenia Nicene is shown in a worker's garment, and the young man preparing the wool for spinning could easily be Evangelus's son.
45. On bucolic representations in general, see N. Himmelmann, *Über Hirten-Genre in der antiken Kunst* (Opladen, 1980); on depictions of the Endymion myth, see Koch and Sichtermann (note 20), pp. 144–46; Sichtermann (note 7).
46. Rome, Museo Capitolino 725: Koch and Sichtermann (note 20), p. 145, fig. 157. Also illustrated in Koch and Sichtermann are examples in Rome, Via del Banco di Santo Spirito: fig. 125; Rome, Villa Doria: fig. 126; Genoa: fig. 160; Paris, Louvre: fig. 158; New York, Metropolitan Museum: fig. 159.
47. Although he cannot cite any parallels for this scene, Koch asserts that it indicates that both Evangelus and Gaudenia Nicene were members of the cult of Cybele and Attis (note 1), p. 26. While the discussion here suggests that such a connection may exist, it is by no means certain.
48. There were also annual games held to the Dioscuri at Ostia. Claudius may have officiated at those games and at sacrifices to the twin deities in A.D. 48 in connection with the new port then under construction: cf. Tacitus *Ann.* 11.26, and Cassius Dio 60.31.
49. Ammianus Marcellinus 19.10 tells of a sacrifice made in their temple when storms prevented a grain ship from entering the port: *dum Tertullus apud Ostia in aede sacrificat Castorum, tranquillitas mare molluit, mutatoque in austrum placidum vento, velificatione plena portum naves ingressae frumentis horrea referserunt.*
50. L. R. Taylor, *The Cults of Ostia* (Baltimore, 1913), pp. 24–26.
51. Cf. the shops built into the podium of the Temple of the Dioscuri in the Forum Romanum: E. Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome* 1 (New York, 1981), pp. 210–13.
52. F. Chapouthier, *Les Dioscures au service d'une déesse, étude d'iconographie religieuse* (Paris, 1935), p. 143ff.
53. This is one of several interpretations discussed by Whitehead (note 1), pp. 253–54.
54. Chapouthier (note 52), p. 156. So-called Cabiric vases, popular in the Hellenistic period, represent the Kabeiroi in grotesque caricature: P. Wolters and G. Bruns, *Das Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben* (Berlin, 1940), pp. 95–128, pls. 5–17; M. Robertson, *A History of Greek Art* (Cambridge, 1975), p. 491.
55. In addition, the *cognomen* of the deceased may indicate that he was originally from Asia Minor: see below for my discussion of the evidence deduced from the nomenclature. Not only were slaves and *libertini* frequently adherents of foreign cults, but freedmen commonly helped administer them: F. Cumont, *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romaine* (Paris, 1929); S. Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen During the Late Republic* (Oxford, 1969), pp. 204–5; Kleiner (note 18), p. 65.
56. M. J. Vermaseren, *The Legend of Attis in Greek and Roman Art* (Leiden, 1966), pls. 26–36; M. R. Salzman, "The Representation of April in the Calendar of 354," *AJA* 88 (1984), pl. 17.6. See also the similar dancing mime wearing a pointed cap on a relief depicting the rites of Zeus Hyposistos found near Cyzicus in Asia Minor: T. P. Wiseman, *Cinna the Poet and Other Roman Essays* (Leicester, 1974), p. 133, pl. 2a; and also pl. 2b, a lamp with the same dancing mime figure found in a tomb on the Janiculum.
57. Paris, Musée du Louvre CA 1946; probably third century B.C.: Vermaseren (note 56), p. 49, pl. 30.1.
58. Ibid., pp. 39–59. For a detailed account of the cult, see H. Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle* (Paris, 1912).
59. Vermaseren (note 56), p. 39; M. J. Vermaseren, *Cybele and Attis: The Myth and the Cult* (London, 1977), pp. 113–24. Catullus (*Carmina* 63) describes the dancing of the priests with their *citatis tripudiis,* fast-leaping dancing steps, to the sound of cymbals, pipes, and drums.
60. At the feast called the *Megalensia* (or *Megalesia*), allegedly after her title (Varro *De ling. lat.* 6.15), *ballatores* performed special dances in the theater near the Temple of Cybele on the Palatine; cf. Augustine *Civ. Dei* 2.4. The *Megalensia* was celebrated in Rome in April (Ovid *Fasti* 4.179ff.) to commemorate the official entry of the goddess into the city in 204 B.C. during the wars with Hannibal (Livy 29.14.13); cf. Salzman (note 56), pp. 46–47.
61. Cambridge University, Fitzwilliam Museum GR.5.1938; of unknown but probably Roman provenance. L. Budde and R. Nicholls, *Catalogue of the Greek and Roman Sculpture* (Cambridge, 1967), nos. 125, 77–78, pl. 41.
62. Ostia, Museo Ostiense 163. Calza (note 15), no. 16, pp. 223–24, fig. 25; Vermaseren (note 56), p. 35, pl. 21.1.
63. For example, a marble relief from Glanum, now in the museum at Saint-Rémy de Provence: Vermaseren (note 59), fig. 63. In addition, the pose of an *archigallus* portrayed on the lid of a sarcophagus from Porto (now in the Antiquarium at Ostia) draws on the same traditional types: ibid., figs. 66–67.
64. A. Grenier, "Le sanctuaire de la Magna Mater à Ostie," *CRAI* (1948), pp. 144–45; G. Calza and G. Becatti, *Ostia*[3] (Rome, 1954), p. 45; R. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia,* 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1973), pp. 355–66; Vermaseren (note 59), pp. 60–63.
65. *Epistulae* 15.4. I am grateful to Jane Whitehead for this reference.
66. For illustrations of this process, see note 31.
67. The hairstyles depicted on the middle-class funerary monuments are frequently based on those popular in the court circle: see Kleiner (note 18), p. 92.
68. See, for example, a head of ca. A.D. 160–70 from Jumilla, Spain, in a private collection: H. Jucker, *Das Bildnis im Blätterkelch* (Freiburg, 1961), pl. 37.
69. Koch (note 1) cites M. Wegner, *Die Herrscherbildnisse in antoninischer Zeit. Das römische Herrscherbild* 2.4 (Berlin, 1939), pls. 1ff., 19ff., 53ff.; J. Frel and S. K. Morgan, *Roman Portraits in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Malibu, 1981), pp. 78–79.
70. Wegner (note 69), pl. 64.
71. K. Fittschen, "Die Bildnistypen der Faustina Minor und die Fecunditas Augustae," *AbhGöttingen* 126 (1982), p. 82ff., pl. 52ff.; K. P. Erhart, J. Frel, S. K. Morgan, and S. Nodelman, *Roman Portraits: Aspects of Self and Society,* exh. cat. (Malibu, 1980), no. 11, pp. 62–65.
72. Cody (note 1).
73. Provincial workshops in turn were often slow to pick up on the changing conventions for fashions in the court circle.
74. On this period, see Koch and Sichtermann (note 20), pp. 254–55.
75. First stipulated by R. Bianchi Bandinelli (cf. "Arte plebea," *DialArch* 1 [1967], pp. 7–19), a plebeian as opposed to a court style (Bianchi Bandinelli's *arte aulica*) is only one of many theories that recognize two or more currents, alternating or simultaneous, in Roman art; cf. O. Brendel, "Prolegomena to a Book on Roman Art," *MAAR* 21 (1953), pp. 1–73, revised and published as *Prolegomena to the Study of Roman Art* (New Haven, 1979).
76. Contrary to Bianchi Bandinelli's theory that the style derives

from an indigenous *romanitas,* freedmen with foreign *cognomina* are responsible for many plebeian monuments (as I argue for this piece), and some scholars regard the style as the result of lower artistic quality obtained from cheaper workshops: cf. Zimmer (note 35), p. 89.

77. Scholars have recently investigated genres and motifs thought to be particularly plebeian. Among this growing body of work are a number of important studies on funerary art and architecture, including: P. Ciancio Rossetto, *Il sepólcro del fornaio Marco Virgilio Eurisace a Porta Maggiore* (Rome, 1973); Gabelmann (note 3); Himmelmann (note 15); Kampen (note 9) and *Image and Status: Roman Working Women in Ostia* (Berlin, 1981); Kleiner (notes 13 and 18); Whitehead (note 6); Wrede (note 27), "Klinenprobleme," *AA* (1981), pp. 86–131, and *Consecratio in Formam Deorum. Vergöttlichte Privatpersonen in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Mainz am Rhein, 1981); P. Zanker, "Grabreliefs römischer Freigelassener, *JdI* 90 (1975), pp. 267–315; Zimmer (note 35) and "Römische Handwerker," *ANRW* 2.12.3 (1985), pp. 205–28.
78. Koch (note 1), p. 25. On sarcophagi from the provinces, see Koch and Sichtermann (note 20), pp. 33–34, 276ff.
79. Koch (note 1), p. 25. Koch adduces additional evidence for a provincial provenance, including the lack of continuity in the groundline on which the figures stand and the engraving of the inscription in the figural field.
80. Koch (note 1), p. 26, nn. 14–16.
81. See Meiggs (note 64), pp. 51–82.
82. Previously the patron might have allowed his freedmen to claim burial rights within his tomb: A. M. Duff, *Freedmen in the Early Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1928), pp. 100–101.
83. Koch (note 1), p. 25.
84. Cf. Kleiner (note 18), p. 84.
85. Toynbee (note 21), p. 44. Toynbee proposes that the original purpose of this custom may have been to ascertain whether death had really taken place.
86. Treggiari (note 55), pp. 6–7.
87. Ibid., p. 231.
88. T. Frank, "Race Mixture in the Roman Empire," *AHR* 21 (1916), pp. 689–708.
89. M. L. Gordon, "The Nationality of Slaves under the Early Roman Empire," *JRS* 14 (1924), pp. 176–77, states that slaves from the Greek East were highly prized and therefore often retained their *ethnicon* as a *cognomen.*
90. On Greece, see R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology* (Leiden, 1964), p. 12; on Asia Minor, see Columella 7.2.4; Pliny *NatHist* 8.190.
91. Gordon (note 89), pp. 183–84, and P. R. C. Weaver, "Cognomina Ingenua: A Note," *CO* n.s.14 (1964), p. 311ff., caution against a Greek name necessarily proving either Greek origin or slave extraction.
92. See P. R. C. Weaver, *Familia Caesaris: A Social Study of the Emperor's Freedman* (Cambridge, 1972); cf. Treggiari (note 55), pp. 6–7.
93. Certainly members of the Imperial household were involved in the manufacture of wool during the second century A.D.; cf. note 40 on Livia's household.
94. See the appendix for the analysis of a plaque that suggests that Gaudenia Nicene preceded her husband in death.
95. Koch (note 1), p. 25; see also Koch and Sichtermann (note 20), p. 610ff.
96. See Lattimore (note 22), pp. 65–74, 126–37.
97. Koch (note 1), p. 26, n. 3.
98. See Lattimore (note 22), pp. 118–21, 126.
99. Petronius *Satyricon* 71; cf. Toynbee (note 21), pp. 74–77. I therefore prefer the interpolation "inhumed in this tomb" to the "inhumed in this sarcophagus" suggested by Koch (note 1), p. 24.
100. See Koch (note 1), p. 24. Whitehead argues that the presence of Endymion imagery also points to a sarcophagus, for the theme was rooted in that genre (note 1), pp. 179–80.
101. Cf. Calza (note 10).
102. Toynbee (note 21), pp. 268–70; Wrede (note 27), pp. 395–431. The epigraphical evidence indicates that these monuments were usually commissioned by freedmen: ibid., p. 404ff.
103. These problems are analyzed fully by Whitehead (note 1), pp. 255–57.
104. Treggiari (note 55), pp. 91–106.
105. For example, G. Rodenwaldt, "Römische Reliefs. Vorstufen zur Spätantike," *JdI* 55 (1940), p. 12: "aristokratischen Form des Sarcophages, die über das ganze Weltreiche wandert." See also Rodenwaldt, "Sarkophagprobleme," *RömMitt* 58 (1943), p. 4–5; Koch and Sichtermann (note 20), p. 22.
106. Kleiner (note 18), pp. 78–81, and D. E. E. Kleiner, "Roman Funerary Art and Architecture: Observations on the Significance of Recent Studies," *JRA* 1 (1988), pp. 115–19.
107. Sprenger and Bartoloni (note 17), p. 104.
108. Wrede (note 27), p. 404ff.
109. Koch and Sichtermann (note 20), pp. 121–22; Zimmer (note 37).
110. Kleiner (note 18), p. 83; cf. idem, "Second-Century Mythological Portraiture: Mars and Venus," *Latomus* (1978), pp. 512–44.
111. Zimmer (note 35), p. 91.
112. Los Angeles, Numismatics Fine Arts M 805. I am grateful to Katya Shirokow for allowing me to publish this piece.
113. See Koch (note 1), p. 24.
114. Treggiari (note 55), p. 216.
115. Although the traditional unity of the family had made it customary to bury all in the same tomb, the practice of including freedmen became unfashionable among the upper classes during the Imperial period; see Treggiari (note 55), p. 215.
116. Ibid., p. 231; Gordon (note 89).
117. Treggiari (note 55), p. 231; Frank (note 88).
118. It has been argued that women usually preceded their spouses in death, due to the perils of childbirth, the hardships of early marriage, and—perhaps inadvertently substantiated by the distinctive costumes depicted on the Getty sarcophagus—overwork. See A. R. Burn, "Hic Breve Vivitur: A Study of the Expectation of Life in the Roman Empire," *Past and Present* 4 (1953), p. 12.
119. Cf. Kleiner (note 18), pp. 51–54, for an analysis of spousal dedications on funerary altars; unfortunately, the inscriptions discussed here lack the status indications that make relationships certain.
120. P. E. Corbett, *The Roman Law of Marriage* (Oxford, 1930).
121. Weaver (note 92), p. 40.
122. Treggiari (note 55), p. 213 and passim.
123. Cf. Duff (note 82), p. 100; Treggiari (note 55), pp. 215–16.
124. *Dig.* 11.7.6; cf. Kleiner (note 18), pp. 73–74.
125. See note 44.
126. *CIL* 6.34237; H: 20 cm (7 7/8 in.); L: 53 cm (20 7/8 in.). Cf. Borsari, *Notizi degli scavi* (1898), p. 242, n. 23.

Acquisitions/1992

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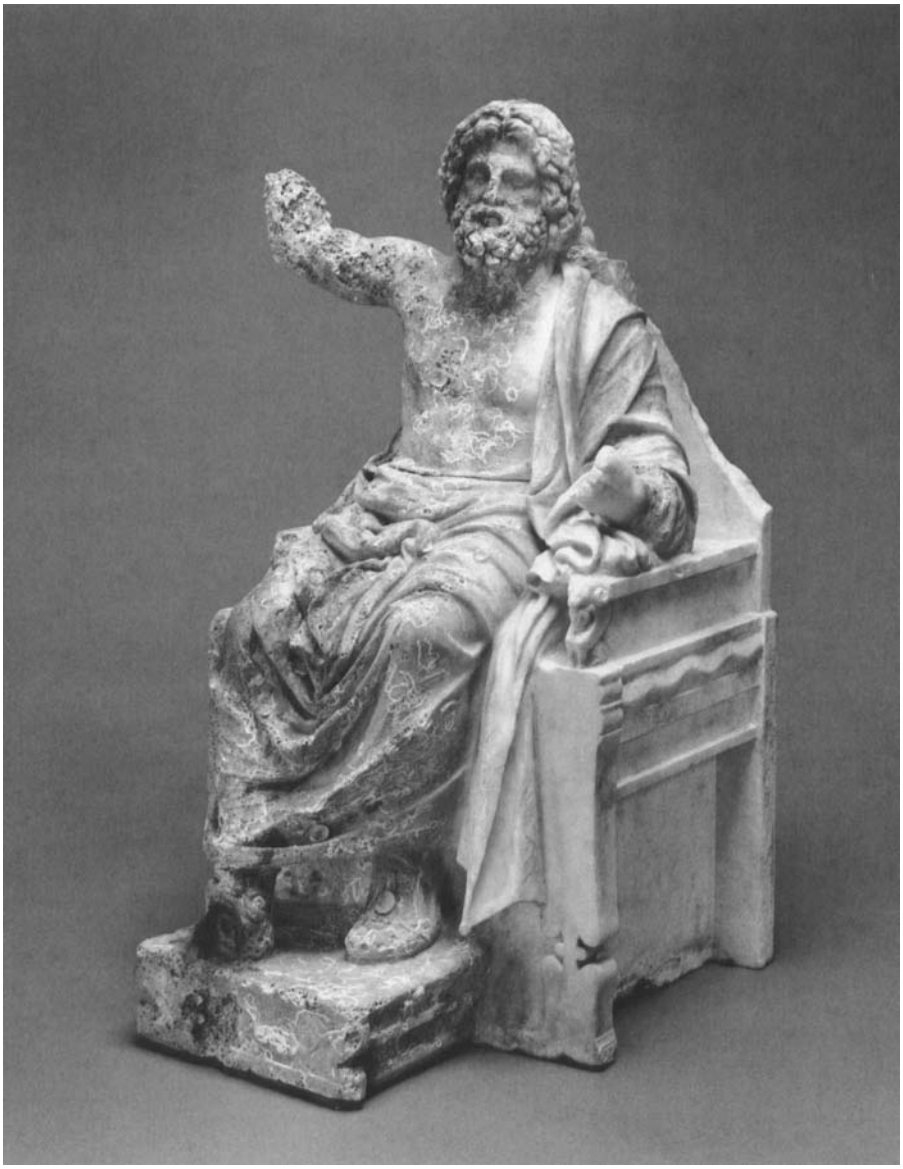
Notes to the Reader

When possible in giving dimensions in the Acquisitions Supplement, the formula height precedes width precedes depth has been observed. In cases where this was not appropriate to the work of art in question, the following abbreviations have been consistently employed:

H:	Height
W:	Width
D:	Depth
Diam:	Diameter
L:	Length

In the provenance sections brackets are used to indicate dealers, and the lack of a semicolon before a sale in parentheses means that the object was sold from that person, dealer, or gallery.

Antiquities



1

STONE SCULPTURE

1. *Statue of Zeus, Enthroned*
Late Hellenistic, ca. 100 B.C.
Marble, H: 74 cm (29 1/8 in.)
92.AA.10

This half-life-size statue is based on the well-known Pheidian statue of Zeus created for the great temple of the god at Olympia. The partially draped deity sits on a high-backed throne. The remaining armrest of the throne is elaborately ornamented with a ram's-head terminal and a support in the form of a seated sphinx. Zeus's right arm is raised, undoubtedly to hold a scepter that is now lost. The fingers of the left hand, the front part of the right foot, and the right hand are missing. Marine encrustations, which indicate that the statue was buried in the sea, cover approximately half of the sculpture.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, New York.

BRONZE SCULPTURE

2. *Statuette of a Giant Hurling a Rock*
Greek, early second century B.C.
H: 14 cm (5 1/2 in.)
92.AB.9

The muscular giant, half-standing with knees bent and his right leg pulled up beneath him, is poised to hurl the rock that he holds overhead. The statuette was most likely part of a larger group composition depicting the Gigantomachy; a small hole under the left thigh may indicate the figure's original point of attachment to a landscape setting. The only physical indications of the giant's wild, inhuman nature are his pointed ears and coarse, tufted hair; the rest of the beautifully modeled figure appears quite human. The pose of the statuette compares closely to the figure of the giant Klytios as depicted on the east facade of the well-known Gigantomachy frieze from the Great Altar of Zeus at Pergamon; he also holds a rock over his head. The statuette is intact.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, New York.

2

3

5

3. *Portrait Bust of Demosthenes*
Roman, first century B.C.
H: 7.9 cm (3 1/8 in.);
W: 3.4 cm (1 5/16 in.)
92.AB.105

This small, finely crafted portrait depicts one of the most famous Athenian orators, Demosthenes (ca. 384–322 B.C.). He is best remembered for his anti-Macedonian position during the rule of Philip II, the father of Alexander the Great. A dotted inscription on the lower front portion of the bust preserves most of his name: DHMO [ΣΘΕ] NH[Σ. The portrait is based on a type created by the Athenian sculptor Polyeuktos, whose bronze statue of the orator was placed in the Agora of Athens in 280 B.C. The surface of the bust, which has been cleaned, is in excellent condition.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

4. *Statuette of a Snake-legged Giant*
Roman, late second–early third century A.D., after a Hellenistic original
H: 14.7 cm (5 5/8 in.)
92.AB.11

The figure is of a young snake-legged giant engaged in combat with a now-missing opponent. The twist of his torso, the preserved right arm upraised in defense, and the complex coiling of his sinuous legs, which end in snake heads with widely gaping mouths, combine to create an atmosphere of tension and imminent danger. In addition to his snaky legs, the wildness of the giant is indicated by the unkempt hair on his head and swirls of hair on his chest and shoulders. The statuette must once have been part of a larger composition depicting the Gigantomachy; an inscription on his left buttock, *K,* may have indicated his placement within the grouping. The lower left arm is now lost; the right hand and part of the snake head on the right leg are incomplete, perhaps the result of damage that occurred during the original casting. With the exception of these losses, the statuette is in excellent condition, with finely chased details preserved on the legs and body.

PROVENANCE: William Herbert Hunt collection, Dallas (sale, Sotheby's, New York, June 19, 1990, lot 30); private collection, New York.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Wealth of the Ancient World,* exh. cat. (Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, 1983), no. 37, pp. 115–16.

MISCELLANEOUS BRONZES

5. *Askos*
West Greek, first half of the fifth century B.C.
H: 15.3 cm (6 1/4 in.);
L: 18.7 cm (7 5/8 in.)
92.AC.5

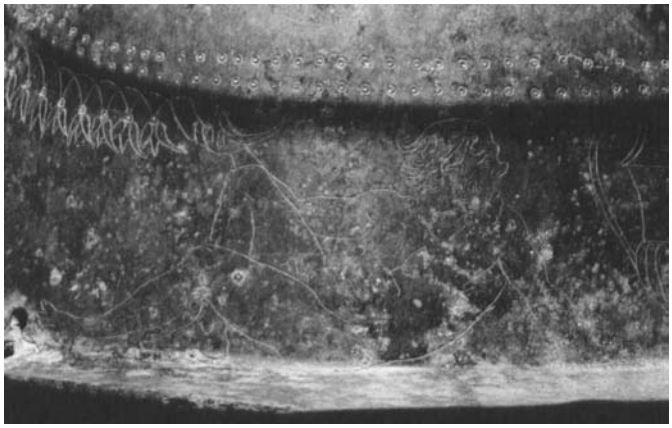
This intact vessel is cast in the form of a siren. Her lower body is that of a bird, with incised feathers overall and bird legs and feet, and her breast is that of a human female clad in a peplos with overfall. In

her outstretched hands she holds a pomegranate and a syrinx, or Pan pipes, symbols of the role the siren played in antiquity as the muse of life after death. Her wavy hair is drawn back beneath a simple crown and the vessel's spout ascends from the top of her head. The arching handle of the vessel takes the form of a nude youth with arms akimbo, and the ring preserved around his left arm was once part of a chain attached to the vessel's now-missing stopper. The condition of the askos is excellent; the fine chasing of the feathers and the details of the siren's face and hair are well preserved. The siren is covered with a light blue-green patina and some encrustation. The head and body were hollow cast as two separate pieces, while the legs and arms were solid cast individually and then attached to the body.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, New York.

6. *Helmet and Two Ankle Guards*
Apulo-Corinthian, early fourth century B.C.
Helmet, H: 17.8 cm (7 in.); ankle guards, H: 26.5 cm (10 3/8 in.)
92.AC.7.1–.3

6 (helmet)



6 (detail of helmet)

This assemblage consists of a finely engraved Apulo-Corinthian helmet and two ankle guards with *repoussé* decoration. The crown of the helmet is modeled and bordered by a double row of small, circular rivets. From the hairline descend inward-curling ringlets that transform to a lotus frieze at the outer terminals of the eyebrows. Between the brows is a lotus bud. The closed cheekpieces are decorated with seated heraldic sphinxes with tousled hair wearing diadems with vertical leaf-shaped attachments. Chevrons outline the eye holes and nose flap. Above a projecting flange at the back of the helmet, which was designed to protect the back of the neck, two satyrs recline to the right, on either side of a large kantharos. Their languid poses suggest a relaxed session of drinking. One satyr, who holds a plain rhyton in his right hand, looks back over his shoulder at his companion, whose head is thrown back and mouth open as he succumbs to the effects of drink. The figures are identified as satyrs by the treatment of their heads, with their beards, pointed ears, and pug noses. Preserved on the crown of the helmet are two rectangular attachments flanking an M-shaped clamp. These three attachments must have originally held horse-hair crests and feathers, or possibly metal horns. On either side of the helmet, at the point where the flange begins to project, are small holes for the stringing of a chin strap.

The combination of sphinxes and satyrs—references to the afterlife—indicates the funereal iconography of the helmet. As a warrior was constantly faced with the prospect of sudden death, such imagery is appropriate. The quality and nature of the helmet's decoration suggest that it was not meant to be worn in battle but served a ceremonial function. The helmet's small, close-set eyes indicate that it was meant to be worn resting back on top of the head rather than over the face.

Also exceptional are the ankle guards that complete this assemblage. Both were manufactured to shield the right ankle. They are simply decorated with *repoussé* double teardrops that protected the inner anklebone. The outer bone was protected by a ridge that would deflect any weapon thrust at the ankle. The back of the ankle and Achilles tendon were protected by a pointed, elongated flange reinforced by three vertical ridges. The guard was

wrapped around to the front of the ankle and secured with a cord. Both the helmet and ankle guards preserve a fine golden and greenish patina; the nose flap on the helmet was once separated and has been reattached.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, New York.

7

VASES: CORINTHIAN

7. *Aryballos*
First quarter of the sixth century B.C.
Terra-cotta, H: 11.2 cm (4 1/2 in.); W: 11.7 cm (4 3/4 in.)
92.AE.4

The globular body of this oil container is decorated with one of the labors of Herakles, the battle with the Hydra of Lerna. Directly opposite the handle, Herakles grasps one of the monster's nine snaky heads and thrusts his sword at its body. He is assisted in his deadly task by Iolaos, who stands on the other side of the Hydra holding one of its decapitated heads. Behind Herakles stands Athena, who gestures her support toward the hero. At her feet is a small crab who nips at Herakles' right ankle. The three figures are named in Corinthian script, and Iolaos' patronymic is also included. Below the handle is a quadriga with a charioteer, who looks back over his shoulder at the combat. The handle is decorated with the profile head of a female, perhaps a goddess. The exterior rim of the aryballos is decorated with zigzags on either side of the handle, with a right-hand meander in between. The top of the mouth is embellished with an eighteen-petaled rosette and the underside with a whirligig composed of ten red arms. The mouth of the vessel has been broken and repaired and there are a few minor surface spalls, most notably near the head of Herakles and the body of Athena.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, New York.

VASES: ATTIC

8. *Group of Forty-Seven Fragments of Attic Black- and Red-figure Vases*
Late sixth–early fifth century B.C.
Five fragments are attributed to the Foundry Painter (92.AE.47.30–.31, 92.AE.116.1–.3); seven fragments are attributed to Onesimos (92.AE.47.27, 92.AE.47.29, 92.AE.94, 92.AE.118.1–.4); five fragments are attributed to Douris (92.AE.47.25, 92.AE.47.28, 92.AE.95.1–.3); three fragments are attributed to the Kleophrades Painter (92.AE.93.1–.2, 92.AE.115)
Terra-cotta, various dimensions
92.AE.47, 92.AE.93–.95, 92.AE.115–.118

Two of the fragments attributed to the Foundry Painter belong to a fragmentary phiale decorated with scenes of an Amazon combat between zones of coral-red (90.AE.38); three others by the same artist belong to a stamnoid vessel depicting youths and men (81.AE.217). Five fragments belong to a large janiform kantharos with attached masks attributed to Onesimos (81.AE.215). One fragment also attributed to Onesimos joins to a statuette vase depicting a mule supporting a single-handled kantharos on its back and decorated with red-figure satyrs between its legs (81.AE.216.M). Two fragments attributed to Douris belong to a zone cup depicting a palaestra scene (87.AE.43); three other fragments attributed to Douris belong to a cup depicting a bearded male seated on a stool with various pieces of armor in the background (83.AE.35). Three fragments attributed to the Kleophrades Painter belong to a stamnos depicting Peleus and Thetis (81.AE.220). Twenty-seven of the fragments are unattributed. Among the shapes represented by the fragments are amphora, kylix, pelike, krater, stamnos, janiform mask kantharos, phiale, and plastic vessels.

PROVENANCE: By donation.

9

10

VASES: ATTIC BLACK-FIGURE

9. *Dinos*
Ca. 520–510 B.C.
Attributed to the Circle of the Antimenes Painter
Terra-cotta, H: 35.5 cm (14 in.); Diam (rim): 33 cm (13 in.)
92.AE.88

The top of the flat rim of this mixing vessel is decorated with scenes of combat among hoplites and archers; four quadrigae and one single mounted warrior are interspersed among the combatants in a continuous battle frieze. The interior of the rim is decorated with four large ships under sail in a clockwise direction. Battering rams in the form of boars' heads extend from the ships' prows. The exterior of the rim is decorated with a row of addorsed ivy leaves separated by a continuous zigzag line and the top of the shoulder with a continuous frieze of descending, alternating black and red tongues. The body of the vessel is black. The dinos is in good condition with some small restored areas in the body and minor surface losses.

PROVENANCE: Found in Capua, Italy, in the late nineteenth century; Bourguignon collection, Naples (sold, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, March 18, 1901, lot 14); Comtesse de Béhague collection, Paris; Marquis de Ganay collection, Paris (sale, Sotheby's, Monaco, December 5, 1987, lot 149); European art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W. Helbig, *Bulletino dell'Instituto di Correspondenza Archeologica* (Rome, 1873), pp. 123–25; *CVA* Boston 2 [U.S.A. 19] (Boston, 1978), p. 9, no. 3; *L'Objet d'Art* 11 (October 1988), p. 73.

VASES: ATTIC RED-FIGURE

10. *Calyx-Krater*
Ca. 470–460 B.C.
Signed by Syriskos as painter (formerly known as the Copenhagen Painter)
Terra-cotta, H: 43 cm (17 in.); Diam (mouth): 54 cm (21 in.)
92.AE.6

This vessel records the first signature of Syriskos as painter and identifies the artist as the Copenhagen Painter; it records a price graffito on the underside. On the principal side of the krater, Gaia (inscribed as ΓΕ ΠΑΝΤΕΛΕΙΑ, "Ge the All-Accomplishing") is depicted seated upon an elaborate throne. She holds a scepter and libation bowl. Before her stands Dionysos (inscribed ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ), who holds a branch in his extended right arm and a sprig of ivy in the other. The god of wine is accompanied by a small leopard. Behind Gaia stands her son, the Titan Okeanos (inscribed ΟΚΕΑΝΟΣ), who also holds a scepter.

On the secondary side, another goddess is flanked by two males. In the center stands Themis (inscribed ΘΕΜΙΣ), the mother of Prometheus. She holds a pouring vessel in one hand and a libation bowl in the other, which she extends to the god seated at her right, Balos (inscribed ΒΑΛΟΣ). He holds a scepter in his left hand and reaches out to receive the proffered bowl. On Themis' opposite side stands Ephaphos (inscribed ΕΦΑΦ[Ο]Σ). The offspring of Zeus and Io, born on the banks of the Nile, Ephaphos is the grandfather of Balos. The relationship between the three figures on this side of the vessel remains unclear. The rim of the krater is decorated with a palmette frieze and the top of the cul with pairs of linked meanders alternating with blackened cross squares. Above the foot is a frieze of ascending black tongues, and the undersides of the handles are decorated with palmettes. On the underside of the foot is scratched a fork-shaped graffito, Ψ, along with the word STATERI, which records the price of the vessel as one stater. A second graffito is also present on the underside: B. The vessel has been reconstructed from fragments and some areas contain fills; one handle has been restored.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, New York.

11

VASES: CAMPANIAN

11. *Neck-Amphora*
Ca. 375 B.C.
Attributed to the Caivano Painter [A.D. Trendall]
Terra-cotta, H: 63.4 cm (25 in.)
92.AE.86

On the front of the vessel is a scene from the mythological story told in the play *The Seven Against Thebes* by Aeschylus, which was set before the city wall and gate of Thebes. The warrior Kapaneus climbs a ladder toward two of the city's defenders, who appear in the crenelations above. He holds a burning torch in his right hand and protects himself from the warriors above with his lofted shield. His attempt is in vain, however, for the thunderbolt of Zeus shown in the upper left corner is about to knock him from his perch. To the right of the gate, a quadriga charges out from the city. Above it flies a small Nike holding a victory wreath aloft. In the right crenelation of the wall is the figure of a white-haired, bearded man holding a scepter. He may be Kreon, the ruler of Thebes at the time. The wood of the city walls and gate is delicately rendered in dilute glaze to indicate texture and grain, the gate itself is depicted in added white, and gold is used to indicate the metal fittings. On the shoulder above the scene, two leopards flank a palmette. On the opposite side of the vessel are depicted three satyrs and two maenads in a landscape. The shoulder above is decorated with descending tongues. The neck panel of side A shows the figure of a nude male pouring a libation before a filleted Ionic column, while the neck panel on side B shows a woman holding a box fleeing to the right. Both have an ovulo above. Other subsidiary decoration consists of a wave pattern on the outer edge of the rim, a meander to right with a saltire square below the principal scene on side A, and wave pattern below the principal scene on side B. The handles of the vessel are twisted. The vase has been reconstructed and is nearly complete with some minor surface abrasion. The added color is well preserved, especially on side A.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Switzerland.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae,* vol. 5 (Zurich, 1990), under "Kapaneus," p. 954, no. 12a.

GOLD AND SILVER

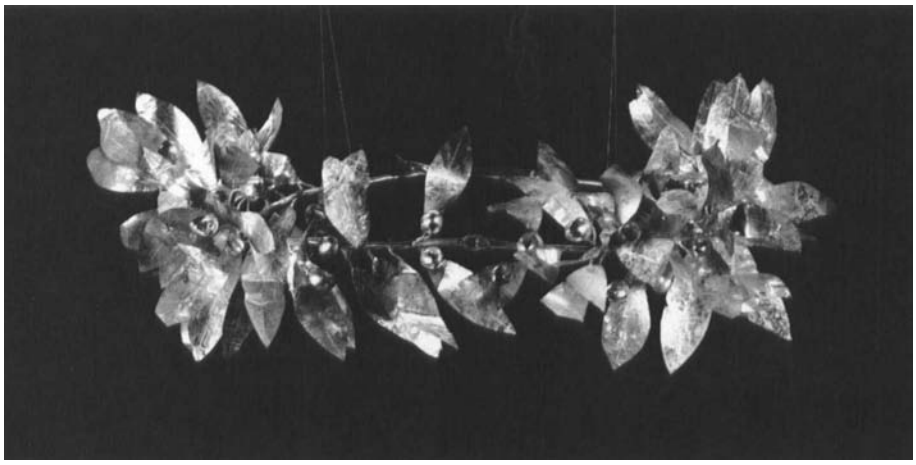
12. *Assemblage of Jewelry*
Hellenistic, probably from Egypt (Alexandria), ca. 220–130 B.C.
Gold with various inlaid and attached stones, hairnet (.1), H: 21.5 cm (8 1/2 in.), W: 8 cm (3 1/8 in.), D: 7.5 cm (3 in.); diadem (.2), Diam: 17.5 cm (6 7/8 in.); pair of hoop earrings with antelope-head finials (.3.1–.3.2), Greatest extent: 2.1 cm (7/8 in.); pair of hoop earrings with antelope-head finials (.4.1–.4.2), Greatest extent: 2.1 cm (7/8 in.); pair of disk pendant earrings (.5.1–.5.2), L: 4.7 cm (1 7/8 in.); pair of armlets (.6.1–.6.2), Diam: 7.8 cm (3 1/16 in.); pair of bracelets (.7.1–.7.2), Diam (.7.1): 7.1 cm (2 3/4 in.); Diam (.7.2): 6.8 cm (2 5/8 in.); gold ring with Artemis intaglio (.8), L (bezel): 4.1 cm (1 5/8 in.); gold ring with Fortuna intaglio (.9), L (bezel): 4.4 cm (1 3/4 in.); twenty-eight miscellaneous beads and one stud (.10.1–.10.29), approx. Diam (beads): .8–.9 cm (approx. 3/8 in.); string of twelve beads in shape of cowrie shells (.11), L: 17 cm (6 11/16 in.)
92.AM.8.1–.11

This collection of Hellenistic jewelry consists of: a gold hairnet, inset with garnet, with tassels strung with beads of glass paste and with a central medallion depicting the bust of Aphrodite with a small Eros at her left shoulder; a gold diadem with tassels containing beads of glass paste, garnet, and moonstone, a central ornament in the shape of a Herakles knot, and flaming torches placed horizontally along the sides; two pairs of gold hoop earrings with antelope-head finials; a pair of gold disk pendant earrings with pearls and a figure of Eros holding a phiale and flaming torch; one pair of gold armlets with single coiled snakes; one pair of gold bracelets with two coiled snakes; a gold ring inset with a carnelian intaglio representing Artemis leaning against a pillar and with a stag at her side; a gold ring inset with a carnelian intaglio representing Fortuna holding a

12 (hairnet)

double cornucopia and staff; twenty-eight miscellaneous beads of gold, carnelian, amethyst, and emerald strung together plus an unstrung carnelian stud; and a string of twelve gold beads in the shape of cowrie shells connected by gold links. All of the pieces are in excellent condition, with some losses of inset stones on the hairnet, diadem, and antelope-head hoop earrings.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, New York.



13

13. *Wreath*
Hellenistic, third–second century B.C.
Gold, Diam: 19.5–21.7 cm ($7\frac{5}{8}$–$10\frac{5}{8}$ in.)
92.AM.89

This Hellenistic wreath is composed of two lengths of hollow gold wire connected at the front by a hook-and-eye clasp. The wire overlaps at the back of the wreath, and the terminals are formed to imitate the broken ends of twigs. Soldered to this wire at the front and sides are eighty-nine laurel leaves and twenty-five laurel berries, dispersed on small stems; the back is unadorned. A detached stem containing six leaves and two additional detached berries also belong to the wreath. The piece is largely intact and in excellent condition.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

14. *Amphora-Rhyton*
Late Roman, fourth–fifth century A.D.
Silver with gilding, H (to top of handles): 37 cm ($14\frac{9}{16}$ in.); H (to top of rim): 33.8 cm ($13\frac{1}{4}$ in.); W: 13.2 cm ($5\frac{5}{16}$ in.); Diam (mouth): 6.2 cm ($2\frac{1}{2}$ in.); Diam (body): 8.8 cm ($3\frac{1}{2}$ in.)
92.AM.12

This elegantly elongated amphora terminates in a funnel-like point at the bottom. Two arching handles with foliate forms and goose heads begin at the gilded rim of the vessel and descend to satyr heads adorned with wreaths. Gilding accents the satyrs' ears and beards, and gilded ivy leaves rise from the center of their foreheads. The plain neck of the vessel is

14

encircled by a collar of overlapping horizontal feathers. The body is decorated at the top of the shoulder with a tendril frieze encircling single leaves, below which are fifteen rows of vertical feathers; twenty-two plain horizontal bands accent the attenuated base. Gilded bands separate the different decorated zones. The date of this vessel is somewhat controversial, as many of the decorative elements appear on Hellenistic metalware. But such elements as the knobbed handles and the collar encircling the neck are commonly found on later Roman vessels of both metal and glass that date to the fourth and fifth century A.D. The vessel is in good condition with some repairs, primarily a horizontal break that occurs through the body in the zone decorated with feathers.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, New York.

15

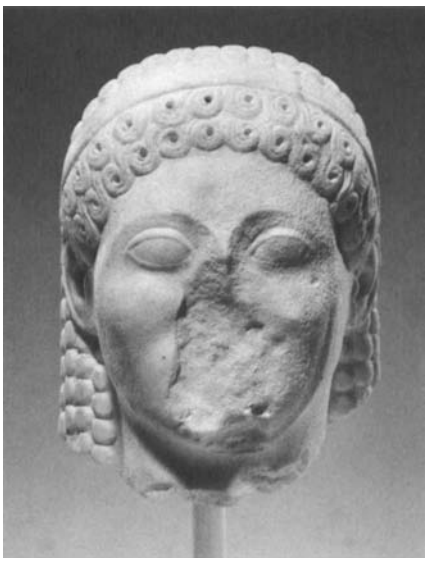
GEMS

15. *Engraved Scarab*
Etruscan, early fourth century B.C.
Banded brown and white agate,
L: 1.65 cm (5/8 in.); W: 1.13 cm (7/16 in.)
92.AN.85

The rounded back of this banded agate is carved as a beetle. The flat surface is engraved with a scene of a helmeted warrior facing left. His cloak is thrown over one shoulder and he carries a spear in his right hand. In his left hand is a recently decapitated head still dripping blood; the headless body lies at his feet. The entire scene is framed by a hatched border. The image may depict Amphiaraos or Tydeus holding the head of Melanippos, one of the defenders of the city of Thebes. Tydeus killed Melanippos in the heat of battle but was mortally wounded himself. Before he died he asked to see the head of his opponent. Melanippos' head was severed and brought to him either by Amphiaraos or Kapaneus, another of the Greek attackers. The gem is intact with no chips or scratches.

PROVENANCE: M. de Montigny collection, Paris (sale, Paris, May 23–25, 1887, no. 176); James, Earl of Southesk collection, London; Ralph Harari collection, London; New York art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W. Froehner, *Collection of M. de Montigny, Pierres gravées,* sale cat. (Paris, 1887), no. 176; A. Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen,* vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1900), pl. 20, no. 21; Lady Helena Carnegie, *Catalogue of the Collection of Antique Gems, formed by James, Ninth Earl of Southesk* (London, 1908), no. A 6; P. Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen* (Mainz, 1968), no. 1108; J. Boardman and D. Scarisbrick, *The Ralph Harari Collection of Finger Rings* (London, 1977), no. 25; J. Spier, *Ancient Gems and Finger Rings: Catalogue of the Collections* (Malibu, 1992), pp. 68–69, no. 140 (listed as L.87.AN.114).



16

FORGERIES

16. *Head of a Kouros*
Twentieth-century imitation of an Archaic sculpture
Marble, H: 24 cm (9 7/16 in.)
92.AK.29

The head joins to the torso of an imitation kouros (90.AK.43) purchased by the Museum in 1990. It is carved with two rows of curls on the forehead separated from the rest of the hair by a flat fillet. The rest of the hair descends in beaded rows. The front of the face is damaged and the center lower portion, including the nose, is missing. The entire front of the face has been corroded by acid.

PROVENANCE: By donation.

Manuscripts

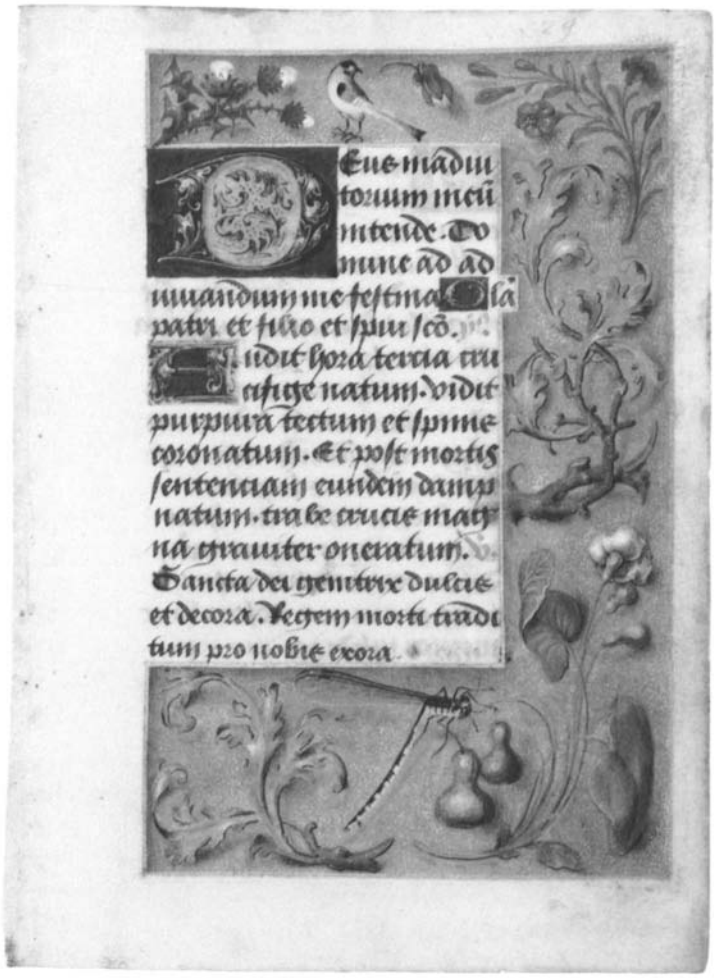
17 (p. 158)

17. *Eighty-One Leaves of a Cistercian Antiphonal*
Franco-Flemish, probably the Cistercian Abbey of Cambron, near Mons, diocese of Tournai, ca. 1260–70
Vellum, approximately 48 x 35 cm (approximately 18 7/8 x 13 3/4 in.).
Latin text in a Gothic liturgical book hand, music in square notation on a four-line staff. One historiated initial, numerous decorated initials, and numerous pen work flourishes.
Ms. 44; 92.MH.22

CONTENTS: The musical portions of the divine office (including invitatories, antiphons, responses, and versicles) for high feasts for a short part of the Temporale and part of the Sanctorale from February 22 to November 22, with gaps and losses, some of them filled by Ms. Ludwig VI 5: initial *I* with *The Eagle of Saint John* (All Saints) (p. 158).

PROVENANCE: Probably made at the Cistercian Abbey of Cambron, diocese of Tournai (suppressed in 1789); presumably still in use in the seventeenth century, when various liturgical inscriptions were added; in France, nineteenth century (when bound); private collection, United States; [Sam Fogg Rare Books and Manuscripts, London].

COMMENTARY: Ms. Ludwig VI 5 comes from the same parent manuscript, which was probably in more than one volume; other leaves and cuttings perhaps from the same set of volumes are in the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm (B.1730–32); the Cleveland Museum of Art (Acc. 85.83) (formerly Mark Lansburgh collection); the collection of Brother Frank Kacmarcik, Saint John's Abbey (Collegeville, Minnesota); and the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library at Saint John's University in Collegeville, Minnesota, Ms. 8 (Bean Ms. 3) (see Christie's sale, London, December 9, 1981, lot 229).



18

18. *Leaf from a Book of Hours, with Decorated Borders*
Franco-Flemish, ca. 1480–90
Vellum, 12.5 x 9.2 cm (4 13/16 x 3 5/8 in.). Latin text in *bâtarde*. Two decorated borders and one four-line, two two-line, and one one-line initials.
Ms. 45; 92.MS.34

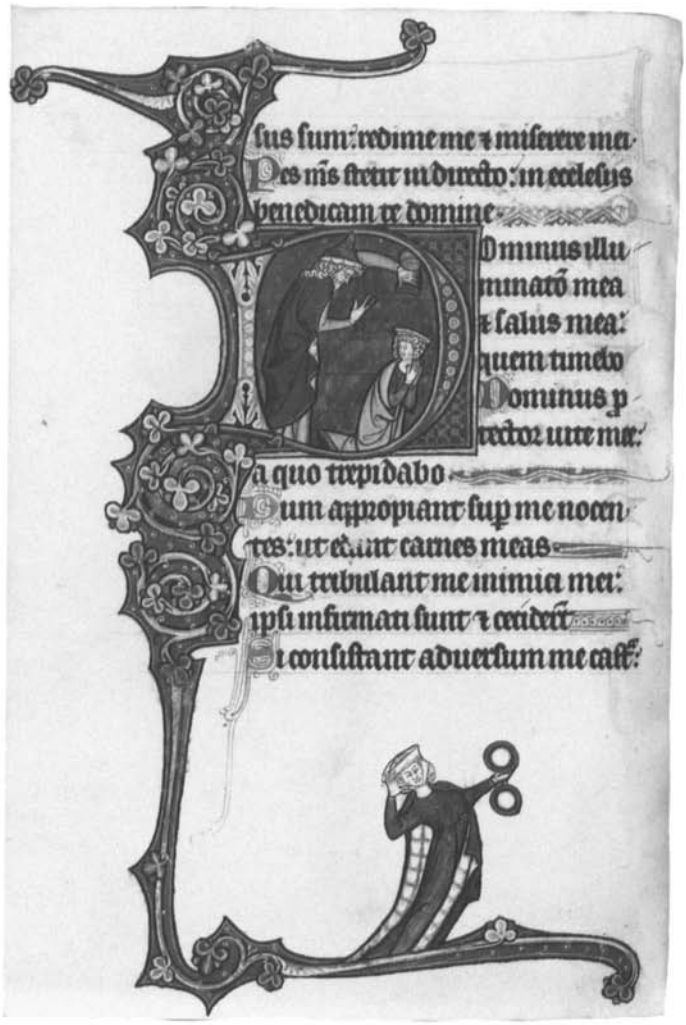
CONTENTS: The start of Terce of the Hours of the Cross (with Gloria, hymn, versicle, and prayer, ending incomplete).

PROVENANCE: Sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, May 19, 1976, part of lot 26, to [H. P. Kraus, New York]; Harry Bober, New York; [Ellin Mitchell, New York]; [Mia Wiener, New York].

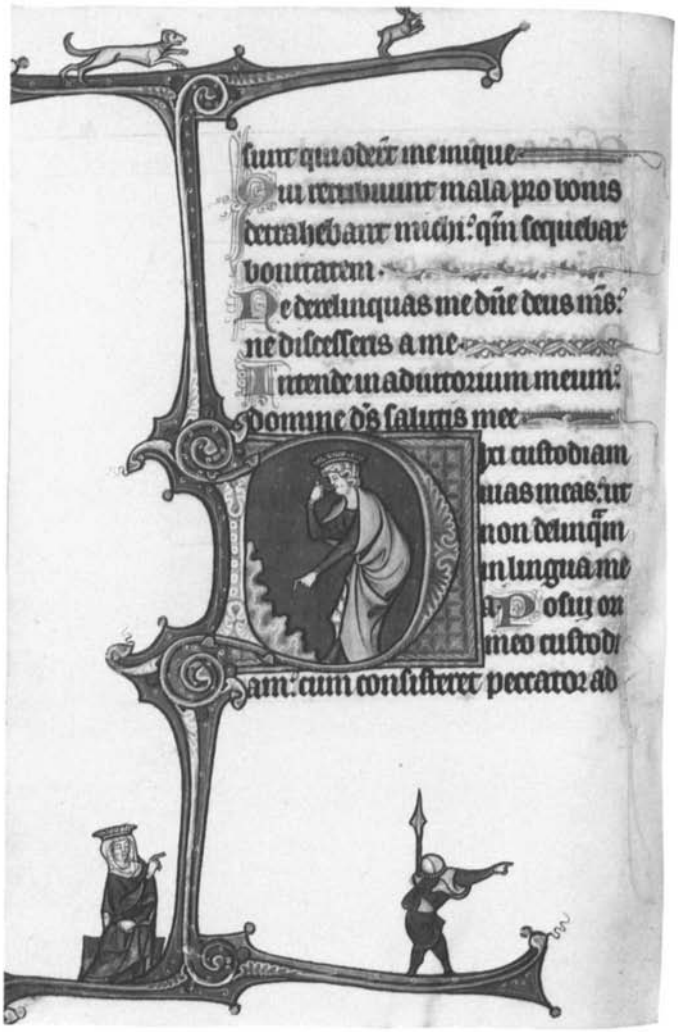
COMMENTARY: The leaf is one of sixty from a book of hours of the use of Cambrai sold in Paris in 1976. A text page with None of the Hours of the Cross is in a New York private collection, and a leaf with *The Deposition* of the circle of the Master of Mary of Burgundy is in a European private collection. Bodo Brinkmann has suggested that text pages now preserved in the Historisches Museum in Frankfurt (c.85–89, 754–59, 6439–41) and in the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung in Munich (Inv. Nr. 18736–58) come from the same manuscript and that the calendar of the present manuscript is another group of leaves in the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung (Inv. Nr. 40051–62).

9. *Bute Psalter*
Illuminated by the Bute Master and the Passion Master and his atelier
Northern France, ca. 1270–80 (fols. 1–238); Paris, third quarter of the fourteenth century (fols. 238–335)
Vellum, i + 346 + i leaves. Collation: $1–3^{12}$, 4^{4}, 5^{8}, $6–20^{12}$, 21^{10}, $22–24^{12}$, 25^{12} (–3, after fol. 276), $26–29^{12}$, 30^{12+1}. The book lacks a calendar, the Beatus page, and a leaf after fol. 276. Gatherings 4 and 5 were originally a single gathering of twelve leaves with fols. 39–40 following fol. 48. There are signatures and catchwords on the first twenty (originally nineteen) gatherings and catchwords or fragments thereof on fols. 321v and 333v. The original thirteenth-century text concludes on fol. 238, twelve lines down, and the fourteenth-century text begins on the next line, concluding on fol. 335. A fifteenth-century text begins on fol. 335v and concludes on fol. 346v; 16.9 x 11.9 cm (6 5/8 x 4 11/16 in.). Text area: 9.3 x 6.4 cm (3 5/8 x 2 1/2 in.), one column, fifteen lines (except fols. 335v–346v, thirteen to sixteen lines). Fols. 1–238 and 335v–346 in Latin, fols. 238–335 in Latin and French, all in Gothic scripts (*littera textualis formata*). One hundred ninety historiated initials plus numerous drolleries and narrative scenes in the margins and *bas-de-page* of the original book (fols. 1–238), and a further twelve historiated initials and one hundred fifty-seven decorated initials in the fourteenth-century portion (fols. 238–335v). Old red velvet binding over boards, recently attached and resewn.
Ms. 46; 92.MK.92

CONTENTS: Psalter (fols. 1–211): the six-line initials (those at the major divisions) are: Psalm 26, initial *D* with *The Anointing of David* and in the *bas-de-page A Noblewoman Listening While Holding a Double Mirror* (fol. 32v); Psalm 38, initial *D* with *David Pointing to His Mouth,* in the *bas-de-page A Queen, Seated, Points to a Warrior Seen from Behind Pointing Right,* and in the upper margin *A Dog Chasing a Hare* (fol. 52v); Psalm 52, initial *D* with



19 (fol. 32v)



19 (fol. 52v)

19 (detail of fol. 31v)

The Fool, with a Dog Face and Wearing Winged Headgear, Menaces Christ and in the *bas-de-page A Fool Makes a Face at the Reader* (fol. 72); Psalm 68, initial *S* with *The Lord Appearing to David in the Water* and in the *bas-de-page A Noblewoman with Hands Raised in Prayer Taunted by Hybrids* (fol. 92); Psalm 80, initial *E* with *David Harping* and above the initial left *Man Heaving a Rock* (fol. 116v); Psalm 97, initial *C* with *Clerics Singing* (fol. 138v); Psalm 109, initial *D* with *The Trinity* (fol. 162); the four-line initials are: Psalm 51, initial *Q* with *A Priest Stabbed by a Soldier at the Altar,* above *A Roman (?) Soldier, Bare Chested, Holding a Man's Head,* and in the *bas-de-page Two Men Shooting Arrows at a Pair of Nude Saints* (fol. 71); Psalm 101, initial *D* with *A Pelican Reviving Her Chicks* (fol. 141v); Psalm 119, initial *A* with *A Noblewoman Seated on the Ground Reading* (fol. 184); the remaining psalms are historiated each with a three-line initial; the canticles, concluded by the Athanasian Creed (fols. 211–231v): four-line initial *C* with *Noli me tangere* (fol. 211); the remaining canticles and the Creed each decorated with a three-line historiated initial; Litany (fols. 231v–236v), with Saint Louis added twice by a later, fourteenth(?)-century hand, in the margin (fol. 233v): three-line initial *K*

19 (detail of fol. 289v)

with *An Angel Trumpeting* (fol. 231v); collects (fols. 236v–238): three-line initial *D* with *The Lord Enthroned with Hands Open* (fol. 236v); the six remaining collects each historiated with a three-line initial; prayers: *Actiones nostras, quaesumus, domine, aspirando preveni . . . per te coepta finiatur* (V. Leroquais, *Les Livres d'heures manuscrits de la bibliothèque nationale,* vol. 2 [Paris, 1927], p. 168) (fol. 238), *Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui vivorum dominaris* (fol. 238v), to Saint Veronica *Deus qui nobis signatis* (Leroquais, vol. 2, p. 59) (fol. 239v) [*Memore du Vironike* noted in margin of fol. 239 in same later hand as on fol. 233v], to the Virgin *Deprecor te, domina mea, mater dei, pietate plenissima . . . ut intercedas pro me, famula tua . . . vitam aeternam et requiam sempiternam. Amen* (Leroquais, vol. 1, p. 40; cf. also vol. 1, pp. 34, 51; vol. 2, p. 262) (fol. 240), to the elevation of the host *In praesentia corporis et sanguinis tui* (André Wilmart, *Auteurs spirituels et textes dévots du moyen age latin: Etudes d'histoire littér aire* [Paris, 1932], p. 378, n. 11) (fol. 240v), to the Holy Sacrament *Per inestimabile sacramentum* (fol. 242v), to the elevation of the chalice *Ave sacer sanguis Christi* (fol. 243v); twenty days of pardon *Anima Christi sanctifica me . . . ut cum angelis laudem te in saecula saeculorum. Amen* (Leroquais, vol. 2, p. 340) (fol. 243v); suffrages: Saint Julian (fol. 244), martyrs (fol. 244), Saint Ursula (fol. 244v), Virgins (fol. 245v), Saint Barbara (fol. 246), Saint Margaret (fol. 246v), the Holy Cross (fol. 247), Saint Michael (fol. 247v), Saint John the Baptist (fol. 247v), the Holy Father (fol. 248), Saint Paul Apostle (fol. 248v), Saint Nicaise and his companions (fol. 248v), Saint Christofle (fol. 249), Saints Simon and Jude (fol. 249v), All Saints (fol. 250); prayer to the Angels (fol. 250v); suffrage: Saint Anne (fol. 251); prayer to Our Lady *Deus qui salutis aeterne* (fol. 251v); suffrages: the three Kings of Cologne (fol. 252), Saint Maur (fol. 252v); Gospel extract, Saint John (fol. 252v); the Five Joys of the Virgin in Latin (fol. 254); prayers to the Virgin: *Deus qui beatam Mariam virginem* and *Ave mundi spes Maria* (fol. 254v); antiphons of the Virgin: *Alma redemptoris mater, Ave regina caelorum, Beata dei genitrix, Vidi speciosam sicut, Tota pulchra es amica, Anima mea liquefacta, Salve regina misericordiae* (fols. 255v–257v); prayer *Omnipotens sempiterne deus* (fol. 257); suffrages of Saint Lawrence (fol. 258); suffrages to be recited at Vespers and Matins: the Holy Cross (fol. 258), the apostles (fol. 258v), Saint Francis (fol. 259v), Saint Anthony Confessor (fol. 260), Saint Louis (fol. 260v), peace (fol. 261); prayers to our Lord: *Tres dous pere Iesucrist qui estes la viande des anges* (Sonet 2202, cf. also 2617), *Domine Iesu Christe, filii Dei vivi, qui ex voluntate patris . . . et a te numquam in perpetuum separari permittas. Qui . . .* (Leroquais, vol. 1, p. 312), *Perceptio corporis tui . . . ad tutamentum mentis et corporis et ad medelam percipiendam. Qui . . .* (Leroquais, vol. 1, p. 312; vol. 2, p. 286), *O clavis David et sceptrum domus Israel . . . et doloribus et penis inferni. Amen* (Leroquais, vol. 1, p. 329) (fols. 261v–263v); memorials: the angels (fol. 263v), Saint Elizabeth (fol. 264), Saint Nicholas (fol. 264v), commendation of souls, with prayers (fols. 266–271): initial *S* with *The Preparation of a Knight for Burial* (fol. 266); the Fifteen Joys of the Virgin in French (fols. 271–277): initial *D* with *Madonna and Child Seated* (fol. 271); the Seven Requests of Our Lord in French (fols. 277–280); the Hours of the Passion (fols. 280v–316): initial *D* with *The Betrayal of Christ* (fol. 280v), initial *D* with *The Mocking of Christ* (fol. 289v), initial *D* with *Christ Before Annas* (fol. 294v), initial *D* with *The Carrying of the Cross* (fol. 296v), initial *D* with *Christ Nailed to the Cross* (fol. 299v), initial *D* with *The Crucifixion* (fol. 304v), initial *D* with *The Deposition* (fol. 309v), initial *C* with *The Entombment* (fol. 313); Hours of the Cross prepared by Pope John XXII (fols. 316v–321v): initial *D* with *Pope John XXII(?) Writing Before the Man of Sorrows* (fol. 316v); *Memorial for Each Day of the Humanity of Our Lord and of His Passion and His Miracles* (fols. 322–331v): initial *I* with *The Harrowing of Hell* (fol. 322); prayers: *Suscipere dignare domine deus omnipotens hos psalmos consecratos quos ego indigna ancilla tua* (Leroquais, vol. 1, p. 354) (fol. 332) and *Domine Iesu Christe qui mundum proprio sanguine redemisti* (Leroquais, vol. 2, p. 26) (fol. 332v); memorials: Trinity (fol. 334), Holy Spirit (fol. 334v), Mary Magdalene (fol. 334v); Office of the Holy Spirit (fols. 335v–346v).

PROVENANCE: Family of the Counts of Juliers (?), fourteenth century; Marquess of Bute, Ms. 150 (G.27), (sale, Sotheby's, London, June 13, 1983, lot 4); private collection, Detroit [to Sam Fogg Rare Books and Manuscripts, London].

COMMENTARY: Many of the pages with historiated initials in fols. 1–238 feature marginal decoration, much of it of an apparently secular nature. Some of it clearly relates to the subject of the adjacent initial and/or to the psalm, e.g., Psalm 44, initial *E* with *A King Harping* includes in the margins *Angels Playing Instruments* and in the *bas-de-page A Queen Singing Accompanied by Female Saints* (fol. 61v). The manuscript's distinctive iconographic program is discussed in the unpublished doctoral thesis of Elizabeth Peterson, *Iconography of the Historiated Psalm Initials in the Thirteenth-Century French Fully-Illustrated Psalter Group* (University of Pittsburgh, 1991). The coat of arms on the surcoat of the deceased knight represented on fol. 266 appears to be that of the Counts of Namur (J. B. Rietstap, *Armorial general,* vol. 2 [Lyons, 1950], p. 295). The fourteenth-century miniatures are here attributed to the Passion Master and his atelier.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lilian M. C. Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery, Volume 1: France, 875–1420* (Baltimore and London, 1989), p. 89; Alison M. Stones, *Book Illumination in Provincial France: Artists and Patrons in Cambrai and Tournai, 1260–1285* (forthcoming).

Paintings

20 (.1)

20 (.2)

20. FRA ANGELICO
(Guido di Pietro,
Fra Giovanni da Fiesole)
Italian, ca. 1395/1400–1455
Saint Francis and a Bishop Saint and *Saint John the Baptist and Saint Dominic,* ca. 1430–33
Tempera and gold on panel, .1: 52 x 23 cm (20 3/4 x 9 1/8 in.); .2: 52 x 21 cm (20 3/4 x 8 1/4 in.)
92.PB.111.1–.2

These panels were once the wings of a triptych or polyptych and probably flanked an image of the Madonna and Child. A date in the early 1430s is suggested by the stylistic similarity to the representations of Saints Mark and Peter on the outer wings of the Linaiuoli triptych (Museo di San Marco, Florence), commissioned in 1433. A motif similar to that found in the spandrels occurs in *The Annunciation* (Museo del Prado, Madrid) of a few years later.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, New Jersey.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Miklos Boskovits, "La fase tarda del Beato Angelico: Una proposta di interpretazione," *Arte cristiana* 71 (1983), pp. 11–23; *Agnew's 175th Anniversary,* exh. cat. (London, Thomas Agnew and Sons, Ltd., 1992), no. 1.

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21. SEBASTIANO DEL PIOMBO
(Sebastiano Luciani)
Italian, ca. 1485–1547
Portrait of Pope Clement VII, ca. 1531
Oil on slate, 105.5 x 87.5 cm
(41 1/2 x 34 1/2 in.)
92.PC.25

This portrait is probably the one ordered by Pope Clement VII (reigned 1523–34) from Sebastiano by July 22, 1531 (see Sebastiano's letter to Michelangelo in Paola Barocchi and Renzo Ristori, *Il Carteggio di Michelangelo,* vol. 3 [Florence, 1973], p. 318). By that date, one portrait of the pontiff had been completed on canvas. The Pope wanted another of the same type painted on stone, and this is the only extant work to fit that description.

A small study of Clement's head painted on slate (Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples) probably served as the model for the many portraits of the Pope that were ordered from Sebastiano from about 1530 (see Michael Hirst, *Sebastiano del Piombo* [Oxford and New York, 1981], pp. 111–12, pl. 141). The work presented here is the portrait most clearly developed from this small study. A canvas version of the seated portrait (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) shows the Pope with a weary and uncertain visage that is quite distinct from the self-confident attitude evident in the two slate portraits. In the Vienna canvas, the curtain and column of the Getty Museum version were eliminated in favor of a neutral background, and the Pope's coat of arms was added in the upper right corner. (On the Vienna version, see Hirst, pp. 110–11, pl. 140.)

Numerous variants of the basic type represented in this work and in the Vienna portrait were produced by Sebastiano's workshop or by later hands. They include one in a German private collection; one formerly in the Hamilton Palace collection; one in Pollock House, Glasgow; and one in the Museo Mediceo, Florence (see Hirst, p. 111, and Carlo Volpe and Mauro Lucco, *L'Opera completa di Sebastiano del Piombo,* Classici dell'arte Rizzoli, no. 99 [Milan, 1980], pp. 117–18, nos. 78b–d).

PROVENANCE: Presumably, Pope Clement VII (Guilio de' Medici, 1478–1534); the Earls of Pembroke (sale, Christie's, London, June 1, 1861, lot 69, to Tayleure); sale, Christie's, London, December 11, 1987, lot 163; [Thomas Agnew and Sons, Ltd.].

22 (preconservation photograph)

22. TITIAN
(Tiziano Vecellio)
Italian, ca. 1480/90–1576
Venus and Adonis, ca. 1555–60
Oil on canvas, 160 x 196.5 cm
(63 x 77 3/8 in.)
92.PA.42

Owing to its dirty varnish and high placement on a wall at Somerley, this painting was consistently underrated by twentieth-century critics until Wethey hinted at its autograph quality. At its sale in London in December 1991, the first modern opportunity to study it under acceptable conditions, it became apparent that the picture was by Titian himself.

There are numerous versions of the composition. The most important of these—and the only one of indisputable authenticity—is the picture painted for Philip II and delivered to London in 1554 (Museo del Prado, Madrid). An earlier, lost version was apparently painted for the Farnese family in 1545–46. Smaller, somewhat different versions of the subject are in the National Gallery, Washington, D.C., the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and the National Gallery, London. On the various versions, see Wethey, pp. 188–94.

PROVENANCE: Queen Christina of Sweden, Palazzo Riario, Rome, to 1689; Cardinal Azzollini, her residuary legatee; his nephew, Marchese Azzolini; Principe Livio Odescalchi, ca. 1690–1713; Principe Baldassare Odescalchi-Erba, 1713–21; sold with the whole of Queen Christina's collection to Philippe, duc d'Orléans (le Régent), in 1721; Louis, duc d'Orléans; Philippe, duc d'Orléans (Philippe Egalité); sold by him to M. Walkuers, Brussels, in 1792; sold by him to M. Laborde de Méréville, who took this and the other Orléans Italian pictures to England; sold by him to Jeremiah Harman, who made all the Orléans Italian pictures over to a syndicate consisting of the Duke of Bridgewater and Lords Carlisle and Gower (late Marquis of Stafford); exhibited for sale by private contract at the Lyceum, the Strand, London, for six months from December 26, 1798, no. 224, and purchased by Mr. FitzHugh; sold by him in 1844 to the 2nd Earl of Normanton; the Earls of Normanton, Somerley, Ringwood (sale, Christie's, London, December 13, 1991, lot 85); [Hazlitt, Gooden and Fox, Ltd., London, and H. Shickman Gallery, New York].

23 (preconservation photograph)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Couché, *La Galerie du Palais-Royal, gravée d'après les tableaux des différentes écoles qui la composent* (Paris, 1786), vol. 1, pl. 15; G. F. Waagen, *Galleries and Cabinets of Art in Great Britain* (London, 1857), p. 36; O. Granberg, *La Galerie de tableaux de la Reine Christine de Suède* (Stockholm, 1897), no. 17 or 30; M. Roldit, "The Collection of Pictures of the Earl of Normanton at Somerley, Hampshire: III, Works by Painters of the Foreign Schools," *Burlington Magazine* 4 (January 1904), p. 16, illustrated p. 17 (as "Titian and workshop"); H. E. Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian:* III, *The Mythological and Historical Paintings* (London, 1975), pp. 60, 191–92 and pl. 190 (as "Titian and workshop"); F. Russell, "The Hanging and Display of Pictures, 1700–1850," in *The Fashioning and Functioning of the British Country House,* G. Jackson-Stops, ed., Studies in the History of Art, vol. 25 (Washington, 1988), p. 152.

23. PETER PAUL RUBENS
Flemish, 1577–1640
The Death of Samson, ca. 1605
Oil on canvas, 99 x 110.5 cm
(39 x 43 ½ in.)
92.PA.110

This unpublished painting is among the most ambitious works produced by Rubens during his early years in Italy. It captures the chaotic demise of Samson (Judges 16:21–31) in a composition probably intended to rival Giulio Romano's *Sala dei Giganti* in the Palazzo del Té, Mantua. The heroic figure of Samson, based on the *Laocoön* (Musei Vaticani, Rome), was developed by Rubens in a pen drawing on a sheet mainly devoted to a *Battle Between Greeks and Amazons* (Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland); see Michael Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy* (Oxford and Ithaca, 1977), fig. 227, who dates the sketch to around 1605. Rubens's drawing of Samson was subsequently copied by van Dyck (see idem, *Van Dyck's Antwerp Sketchbook* [London, 1966], v. 2, p. 220, regarding fol. 15v).

The painting is in remarkable condition and has never been lined.

PROVENANCE: Corsini collection, Florence; private collection, Switzerland.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ulderigo Medici, *Catalogo della Galleria dei Principi Corsini in Firenze* (Florence, 1880), p. 91, no. 322.

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24. JAN BRUEGHEL THE ELDER
Flemish, 1568–1625
The Entry of the Animals into Noah's Ark, 1613
Oil on panel, 54.6 x 83.8 cm (21½ x 33 in.). Signed and dated *BRUEGHEL FEC. 1613* in the lower right.
92.PB.82

The story of Noah's ark (Genesis 6–8) enabled Brueghel to demonstrate his expertise at rendering animals. The artist doubtlessly studied many of the more exotic species in the menagerie of the Archduchess Isabella Clara Eugenia in Brussels. The depictions of the lions, the horse, and the leopards were inspired by examples in the works of Rubens. The lions are depicted in *Daniel in the Lions' Den* (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.); the horse appears in several equestrian portraits from Rubens's Spanish and Italian periods, probably known to Brueghel from drawings; and the leopards appear in *Leopards, Satyrs and Nymphs* (Montreal Museum of Fine Arts).

This panel served as the prototype for a whole class of Brueghel's paintings, the so-called Paradise Landscapes (see Ertz, 1979, pp. 236–39). While he created several examples himself, many copies by followers exist.

An autograph replica is in the Szepmüveszeti Museum, Budapest (inv. no. 548); see Ertz, 1979, p. 603, no. 274. An autograph variant, dated 1615, is in the Wellington Museum, Apsley House, London (inv. no. 1637); see Ertz, 1979, p. 605, no. 287. Copies by followers include examples in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, inv. no. 37.1998; Gemäldegalerie, Dessau (inv. no. 266); Museo del Prado, Madrid (inv. no. 1407); Lázaro Collection, Madrid; Musée des Beaux-Arts, Pau (inv. no. 39.1.1); Centraal Museum, Utrecht (inv. no. 1366); the collection of the Earl of Verulam; and a painting sold at Christie's, Monaco, December 7, 1991, lot 25.

PROVENANCE: Collection of Monsieur Peeters; inherited by Baron H. J. Stier d'Artselaer, Antwerp, by 1794 to 1822 (no. 23 on packing list of paintings shipped to America, 1794, seen in Stier's mansion, Riversdale, in 1812, returned to Antwerp in 1816); sale, Stier collection, Antwerp, 1822, no. 27; bought by M. L. J. Nieuwenhuys; private collection, Vienna, from ca. 1920; private collection, Switzerland, to 1977; Robert Smith, Washington, D. C.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Klaus Ertz, *Jan Brueghel der Ältere (1568–1625)* (Cologne, 1979), pp. 75, 82, 236–40, 244–47, 603, no. 273; figs. 48, 60–62; and color plates 307–10; *Jan Brueghel the Elder, A Loan Exhibition* (Brod Gallery, London, 1979), no. 29; Christopher Brown, "Jan Brueghel the Elder," *Connoisseur* 201 (July 1979), pp. 174–77; Klaus Ertz, *Jan Brueghel der Ältere (1568–1625)*, DuMont's Bibliothek Großer Maler (Cologne, 1981), pp. 110–13, pls. 29–30.

OBJECTS REMOVED FROM THE COLLECTION IN 1992

DOMENICO TINTORETTO
Italian, 1560–1635
Allegory of Prudence, ca. 1580–1600
Oil on canvas, 143 x 105 cm
(56 3/8 x 41 3/8 in.)
54.PA.6

JACOPO TINTORETTO
Italian, 1518/19–1594
The Toilet of Venus, ca. 1570s
Oil on canvas, 115.5 x 103 cm
(45 1/2 x 40 5/8 in.)
54.PA.7

JACOPO TINTORETTO
(school of)
Italian, 1518/19–1594
Portrait of Doge Girolamo Priuli,
ca. 1560–1600
Oil on canvas, 85.7 x 66 cm
(33 3/4 x 26 in.)
54.PA.8

VERONESE
(Paolo Caliari)
Italian, 1528–1588
Portrait of a Boy, ca. 1560–65
Oil on canvas, 51.5 x 40 cm
(20 1/4 x 15 3/4 in.)
54.PA.9

CARIANI
(Giovanni Busi)
Italian, ca. 1480–after 1548
Portrait of a Man with a Sword,
ca. 1520s–30s
Oil on canvas, 75 x 65 cm
(29 1/2 x 25 1/2 in.)
67.PA.4

FRANCESCO BASSANO THE YOUNGER
(Francesco da Ponte)
Italian, 1549–1592
Hercules Pulling Cerberus from the Underworld, ca. 1580s
Oil on copper, 95 x 86.5 cm (37 x 34 in.)
[arched and shaped]
69.PC.1

PAOLO DI GIOVANNI FEI
Italian, active 1369–1411
Madonna of Humility, ca. late 1370s
Tempera on panel, 70 x 42 cm
(27 1/2 x 16 1/2 in.) [arched top]
69.PB.8

ANDREA VACCARO
Italian, 1604–1670
Judith with the Head of Holofernes,
mid-seventeenth century
Oil on canvas, 122 x 99 cm (48 x 39 in.)
69.PA.17

CECCO BRAVO
(Francesco Montelatici)
Italian, 1601–1661
Allegory of Autumn, ca. mid-seventeenth century
Oil on canvas, 80 x 147.3 cm
(31 x 1/2 x 58 in.)
69.PA.19

ANTONIO PUGA
Spanish, 1602–1648
Penitent Magdalene, first half of the seventeenth century
Oil on canvas, 90 x 132 cm (35 1/2 x 52 in.)
69.PA.21

PIETRO MARESCALCHI
(called Lo Spada)
Italian, ca. 1520–ca. 1584
Madonna and Child with Saints Prosdocimus and James, 1564
Oil on canvas, 161 x 122 cm
(63 1/2 x 48 in.). Signed: *PET.s DI MAR.IS P. M.D.LXIIII* in the lower right.
Inscribed in Greek under Saints.
69.PA.32

BENVENUTO DI GIOVANNI
Italian, 1436–ca. 1518
The Nativity, ca. 1480
Tempera on panel, 56.5 x 40 cm
(22 1/4 x 15 3/4 in.)
70.PB.2

LUCA GIORDANO
(follower of)
Italian, 1634–1705
The Journey of Rebecca, ca. 1705
Oil on canvas, 124.5 x 178.5 cm
(49 x 70 1/4 in.)
70.PA.31

PIETRO PAOLINI
Italian, 1603–1681/82
Lute Players (Saint Cecilia?), ca. 1630
Oil on canvas, 100.5 x 133.5 cm
(39 1/2 x 51 1/2 in.). Signed: *PPL* (in monogram) on middle lute.
70.PA.32

JACOBELLO DEL FIORE
Italian, active 1394–1439
Madonna of Humility, early fifteenth century
Tempera on panel, 62.2 x 44.5 cm
(24 1/2 x 17 1/2 in.)
70.PB.36

CECCO BRAVO
(Francesco Montelatici)
Italian, 1601–1661
Allegory of Summer, ca. mid-seventeenth century
Oil on canvas, 80 x 147.3 cm
(31 1/2 x 58 in.)
70.PA.40

ITALIAN
Lucchese School
The Crucifixion, late thirteenth century
Tempera on panel, 66 x 40.6 cm
(26 x 16 in.)
70.PB.46

UGOLINO DI NERIO
Italian, active 1317–ca. 1339/49
Bearded Saint (Saint Andrew?), ca. 1325–30
Tempera on panel, 71.7 x 41 cm
(28 1/4 x 16 1/8 in.)
70.PB.47

DOMENICO DI MICHELINO
(attributed to)
Italian, 1417–1491
The Triumph of Eternity, ca. 1460s
Tempera on panel, 20.3 x 49 cm
(8 x 19 1/4 in.)
70.PB.51

ORAZIO GENTILESCHI
Italian, 1563–1639
The Rest on the Flight into Egypt,
ca. late 1620s
Oil on canvas, 140 x 169 cm
(55 1/8 x 66 1/2 in.)
71.PA.12

PIETRO DELLA VECCHIA
(Pietro Muttoni)
Italian, 1603–1678
The Feast of Esther (?), ca. mid-seventeenth century
Oil on canvas, 81 x 141 cm (32 x 55 1/2 in.)
71.PA.63

MATTIA PRETI
Italian, 1613–1699
The Triumph of Love, ca. mid-seventeenth century
Oil on canvas, 169 x 366 cm
(66 1/2 x 144 in.)
72.PA.8

PAOLO SCHIAVO
(attributed to)
Italian, 1397–1478
Reclining Venus with Cupid, ca. 1460s
Tempera on panel, 52 x 170 cm
(20 1/2 x 67 in.)
72.PB.9

LORENZO DI CREDI
(follower of)
Italian, ca. 1458–1537
The Story of Venus and Adonis, ca. 1490s
Oil on canvas, 93 x 210 cm
(36 1/2 x 82 1/2 in.)
72.PA.10

MICHELE GIAMBONO
Italian, documented 1420–1462
Madonna and Child Enthroned, ca. 1430s
Tempera on panel (transferred),
94 x 59 cm (37 x 23 1/4 in.)
72.PB.30

PIETRO LIBERI
(called Libertino)
Italian, 1614–1687
Allegory of Prudence, ca. 1660s
Oil on canvas, 91.5 x 77.5 cm
(36 x 30 1/2 in.)
75.PA.85

GUERCINO
(Giovanni Francesco Barbieri)
Italian, 1591–1666, and
BENEDETTO GENNARI
Italian, 1633–1715
Saint Anthony of Padua with the Christ Child, ca. 1655
Oil on canvas, 115.5 x 95 cm
(45 1/2 x 37 1/2 in.)
75.PA.86

GIOVANNI DI PIETRO
Italian, active 1432–died before 1479
Subject from Sienese History, ca. 1450–60
Tempera on wood, 27.5 x 33.5 cm
(10 3/4 x 13 3/16 in.)
76.PB.45

BONIFACIO DI PITATI
(Bonifacio Veronese)
Italian, 1487–1553
Portrait of a Woman, ca. 1540–45
Oil on canvas, 105 x 87 cm
(41 1/4 x 34 1/4 in.)
78.PA.222

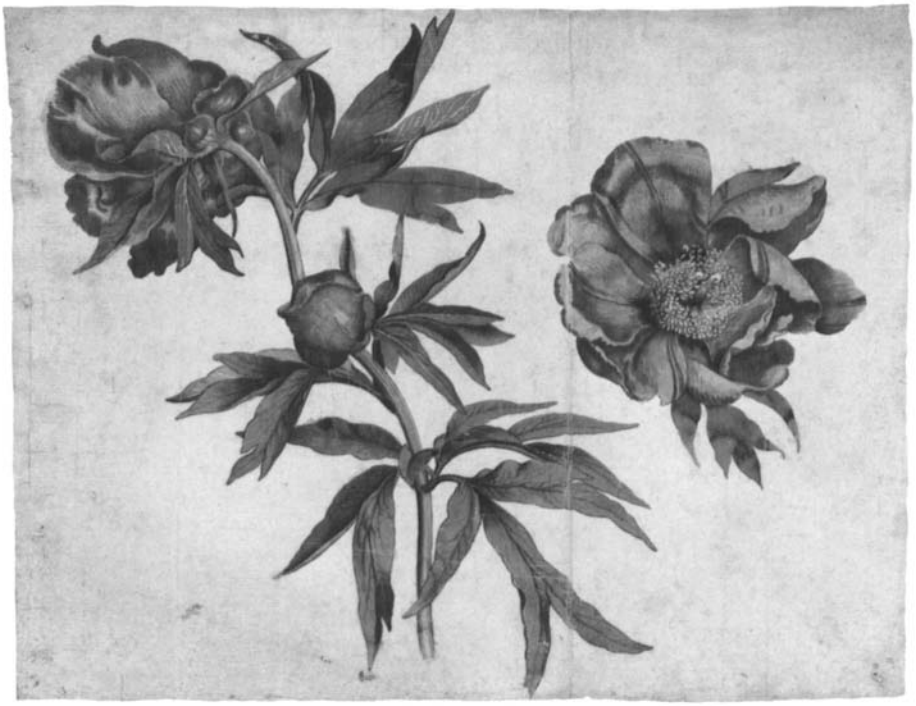
PARIS BORDONE
Italian, 1500–1571
Portrait of a Courtesan, ca. 1540s
Oil on canvas, 114 x 89 cm (45 x 35 in.).
Signed: *O PARIS B* on the wall at the right beneath the window.
78.PA.228

DOMENICO BECCAFUMI
Italian, 1484–1551
The Holy Family with Saint John the Baptist, ca. 1530
Oil on panel, Diam: 90.2 cm (35 1/2 in.)
78.PB.229

GUILLAUME COURTOIS
French, 1628–1679, and
ABRAHAM BRUEGHEL
Flemish, ca. 1631–1690
Ceres, ca. 1670
Oil on canvas, 177 x 255 cm (69 11/16 x 100 3/8 in.)
78.PA.233

Drawings

CENTRAL EUROPEAN



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25. MARTIN SCHONGAUER
German, 1450/53–1491
Studies of Peonies, ca. 1472/73
Gouache and watercolor,
25.7 x 33 cm (10⅛ x 13 in.).
Inscribed: the remains of three letters (*t, n* [or *u*]) in a late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century hand at the bottom left; watermark of a Gothic *p* with flower (Piccard 1019).
92.GC.80

This drawing, which was recently attributed to Martin Schongauer by Fritz Koreny, marks the rise of the observation of nature in Northern European art. It was used as a study for Schongauer's most important surviving painting, *The Madonna of the Rose Garden* of 1473 in the Dominican Church, Colmar. Albrecht Dürer's famous watercolor, *Virgin and Child with a Multitude of Animals* (Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna), contains a cluster of peonies to the right of the Virgin that is based on the Museum's drawing.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Geneva (sale, Christie's, London, July 5, 1988, lot 37); private collection, Switzerland.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. Koreny, "A Coloured Flower Study by Martin Schongauer and the Development of the Depiction of Nature from van der Weyden to Dürer," *Burlington Magazine* 133, no. 1062 (September 1991), pp. 588–99.

26. NUREMBERG SCHOOL
German, active ca. 1500
The Virgin and Child on a Grassy Bench, ca. 1500
Pen and brown ink, 19.2 x 15.5 cm (7 9/16 x 6⅛ in.). Collection mark of B. Jolles (L. 381) in lower right corner; inscribed (verso): *S. Beham.*
92.GA.103

The sophisticated line work of this drawing suggests that it was made by an artist in the circle of Dürer around 1500. Among his pupils, this sheet is closest to the graphic work of Hans Baldung Grien (ca. 1484–1545), who worked as a journeyman with Dürer from 1503 to around 1507. The hooked drapery, short, curvilinear hatching, and the use of white to render sculptural roundness are similar to the pen work in early drawings by Baldung, such as *A Monk Preaching* of around 1505 in the Getty Museum. The intimacy and tenderness in the expressions and gestures of the Virgin and Child occur in other paintings of the same subject by Baldung.

PROVENANCE: Buguslaw Jolles, Dresden and Vienna; Munich art market.

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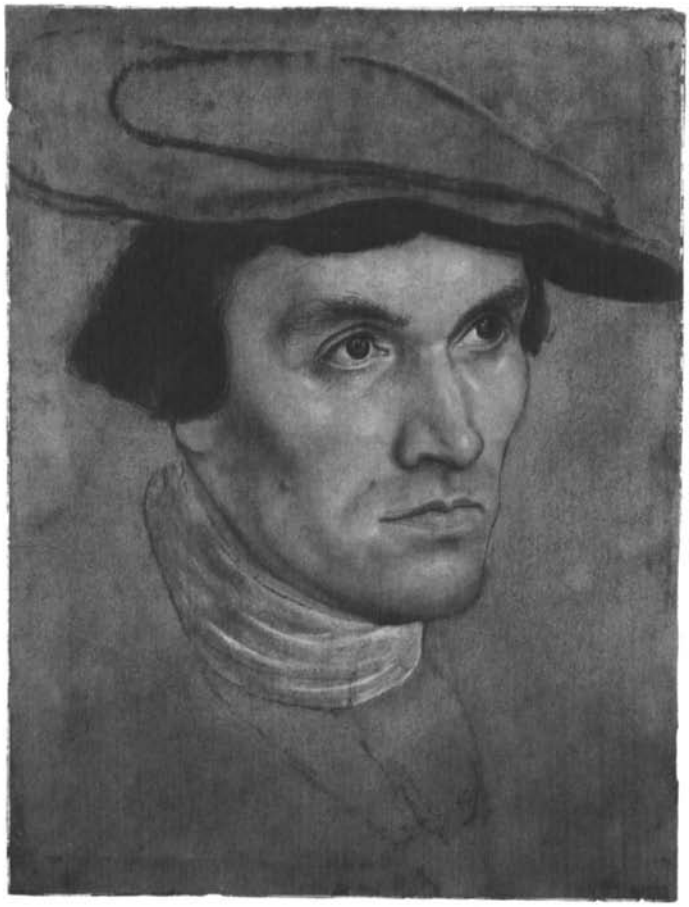

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27. URS GRAF
Swiss, ca. 1485–1527/29
Dancing Peasant Couple, 1525
Pen and black ink, 20.6 x 14.7 cm (8 1/8 x 5 13/16 in.). Signed with the artist's monogram and dagger and dated *1525* in black ink at the bottom.
92.GA.72

This sheet belongs to a series of peasant couples dancing, of which there are eight known examples: three in the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris, and others in the Biblioteca Reale, Turin; the Musée de Bergues Saint-Vinnocq, France; the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin; and the Kupferstichkabinett, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Basel. All, including this drawing, were monogrammed by the artist, dated *1525*, and extensively pricked for transfer. Two hypotheses for the pricking are that the drawings were made as designs for prints or that they were pricked in order to be copied, possibly in the eighteenth century (see E. Brugerolles, in *Dessins de Dürer et de la Renaissance germanique,* exh. cat. [Musée du Louvre, Paris, 1991–92], p. 152, no. 138).

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Switzerland; London art market.

28. LUCAS CRANACH THE ELDER
German, 1472–1553
Portrait of a Man, ca. 1530
Oil on paper, 26.2 x 19.9 cm (10 5/16 x 7 7/8 in.). Collection mark of J. Pzn. Zoomer (L. 1511), lower right corner. Inscribed (verso): *HH* in brown ink between the drawing and the lining.
92.GG.91

Rosenberg (1960, p. 32) proposed that this drawing forms a stylistic link between the portrait study of Martin Luther's father of 1527 in the Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna, and the group of ten portraits by Cranach at Reims, Musée de la Ville, which he dated to around 1530–40. This portrait combines the powerful emotional presence of the drawing in Vienna with the physical beauty and precise detail typical of the Reims group. The unidentified sitter was probably connected with the court of Saxony at Wittenberg, where Cranach was employed as court painter. Like the Reims drawings, which portray members of the Saxon court, this sheet is a life study in oil on paper with the facial features fully delineated and the clothing sparsely sketched.

PROVENANCE: J. Pzn. Zoomer, Amsterdam; Michael Winch, Boughton Monchelsea Place, since before 1960; by descent (sale, Sotheby's, London, December 11, 1991, lot 44); New York art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Rosenberg, *Die Zeichnungen Lucas Cranachs d. Ä.* (Berlin, 1960), no. 90; J. Jahn, *1472–1553 Lucas Cranach d. Ä: Das gesamte graphische Werk* (Herrsching, 1972), p. 156.

29 (92.GA.2)

29 (92.GA.3)

29. HANS BROSAMER
German, ca. 1500–after 1554
Study of a Pleated Skirt and *Study of a Hanging Drapery,* ca. 1530–40
Pen and black ink, 92.GA.2: 19.6 x 15 cm (7 3/4 x 5 7/8 in.); 92.GA.3: 13.2 x 13.8 cm (5 3/16 x 5 7/16 in.). Marked (verso of both): collection marks of K. E. von Liphart (L. 1687) and R. von Liphart (L. 1758); 92.GA.2 inscribed: *App. au Prince Inv. No. 45, les trois dessins, 3 ensemble, 3000* in graphite; 92.GA.3 inscribed: *Au Prin. Inv. No. 45, les trois dessins, ensemble* in graphite.
92.GA.2 and 92.GA.3

Few documents exist concerning Brosamer's career. He was probably active in Fulda in 1536–45, when he produced around thirty-five engravings and thirty-eight woodcuts of goldsmith designs; later he is documented at Erfurt as a miniature painter and designer of woodcuts. These two drawings are part of a group of drapery studies by Brosamer that probably formed a sketchbook. The twenty-three related sheets in the Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, many of which are monogrammed *HB,* constitute the largest body of Brosamer's drapery studies.

PROVENANCE: Karl Eduard von Liphart, Tartu, Bonn, and Florence; Freiherr Reinhold von Liphart, Ratshof (near Tartu); private collection, Switzerland; German art market; United States art market.

30. TOBIAS STIMMER
Swiss, 1539–1584
Portrait of a Bearded Man, 1576
Pen and black ink, touches of brown ink, and black chalk underdrawing, 29.9 x 20.8 cm (11 3/4 x 8 3/16 in.). Monogrammed and dated: *TS 1576* in black ink at the bottom.
92.GA.102

Tobias Stimmer, a major figure in Swiss art, made numerous important woodcut illustrations, including a famous series (1570–71) after Paolo Giovio's portrait gallery in Como, Italy. This work is the only known pen-and-ink portrait drawing by him, however. It was either made as a design for an unexecuted woodcut or, more likely, as a finished work of art. The systematic, hatched line work of this drawing and the half-length format closely parallel his portrait woodcuts.

PROVENANCE: Sale, Christie's, London, July 5, 1988, lot 151; Ian Woodner, New York (sale, Christie's, London, July 7, 1992, lot 96); London art market.

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31. HANS VON AACHEN
German, ca. 1552–1615
The Crucifixion, ca. 1587
Pen and brown ink, gray wash, and black chalk underdrawing, 33.4 x 45.8 cm (13 3/16 x 18 in.). Inscribed or signed (verso): *Joane de Achen.*
92.GA.83

Hans von Aachen became painter to the Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II Habsburg (reigned 1576–1612) in 1592. He made this drawing as a preparatory study for a lost painting, known through two copied versions (private collections, Munich). Another drawing of this composition relates more closely to the painted versions (Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich). The style of the Museum's drawing corresponds to works

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made in the late 1580s, when he worked in Munich for the Bavarian court. This dramatic Crucifixion exemplifies von Aachen's characteristically nervous, energetic use of line and wash and his mastery of the human form.

PROVENANCE: Private collection (sale, Gutekunst and Klipstein, Bern, June 22, 1949, lot 534); private collection (sale, Galerie Kornfeld, Bern, June 21, 1985, lot 1); Boston art market.

32. GERMAN MASTER
German, active late sixteenth century
Interior of a Gothic Church, ca. 1590–1600
Pen and brown ink, blue and gray wash, and black chalk, 37.9 x 27 cm (14 7/8 x 10 9/16 in.). Watermark of a crowned shield with a cursive *h* and *OS* above (close to Briquet 8246, Germany, 1592).
92.GG.15

This drawing descends from the tradition of soaring Gothic interiors by the Danube school artists Albrecht Altdorfer (ca. 1480–1538) and Wolf Huber (1485–1553). It is drawn in one-point perspective, with the vanishing point (marked by a compass hole) located in the center of the small altarpiece in the apse. The main emphasis, however, is placed upon the soaring overhead vaulting, with its intricate, decorative patterns of ribbing. The drawing has been made with great attention to architectural details and furnishings, suggesting that it depicts a specific church. It was possibly made as a study for a painting.

PROVENANCE: Sale, Christie's, London, July 3, 1990, lot 96; London art market.

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33. JOACHIM VON SANDRART
German, 1606–1688
Personification of September, ca. 1644
Black chalk, brown wash, and gray chalk heightening, incised for transfer, 28.7 x 23.8 cm (11 5/16 x 9 3/8 in.). Inscribed (verso): *Joachim von Sandrart 1606–1688* in graphite and *34* in brown ink; collection marks of J. C. Ritter von Klinkosch (L. 577).
92.GB.101

In 1641, Elector Maximilian I of Bavaria commissioned Sandrart to paint fourteen pictures of the months for the grand hall of Schloss Schleissheim, outside Munich. Shortly thereafter, Sandrart enlisted a number of engravers to publish a series based upon drawings that he made after his paintings. This highly worked sheet, which closely follows his painting of the month of September in Schloss Schleissheim, is the model in reverse for the engraving by Cornelis van Dalen. The Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna, possesses two similarly finished drawings that are also preparatory to this series.

PROVENANCE: J. C. Ritter von Klinkosch, Vienna; Kühn collection, Vienna; New York art market.

DUTCH

34

34. PIETER CORNELISZ. KUNST
Dutch, ca. 1490–1560/61
The Seven Acts of Mercy: Ransoming Prisoners, 1532
Pen and black ink over black chalk, 22.8 x 16.9 cm (9 1/16 x 6 11/16 in.). Dated: *1532* in black ink and inscribed: *L* in brown ink in upper center; inscribed: *Lucas van Leyde* on the mount, possibly by Thomas Pelletier.
92.GA.77

This drawing belongs to a series of stained glass designs by Kunst featuring the Seven Acts of Mercy. Two other designs from this group, also dated 1532, are in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin. Kunst also made two other designs dated 1531 (Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich, and Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam) that might be part of this or another series. He produced a still-earlier series in 1524 for which two windows survive (Musée du Louvre, Paris). These drawings show the influence of Lucas van Leyden as well as an expressionistic quality of line that reflects an acquaintance with German draftsmanship.

PROVENANCE: Thomas Coke, 1st Earl of Leicester, Holkham Hall; by descent to the present Viscount Coke (sale, Christie's, London, July 2, 1991, lot 62); London art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: K. G. Boon, *L'Epoque de Lucas de Leyde et Pierre Bruegel* (Paris, 1980), under no. 302; C. Dodgson, *The Vasari Society for the Reproduction of Drawings by Old Masters, Second Series* (Oxford, 1924), vol. 5, p. 11, no. 9; M. D. Henkel, "Pieter Cornelis Kunst," *Old Master Drawings* 6 (1932), p. 67; J. R. Judson, in *The Age of Bruegel: Netherlandish Drawings in the Sixteenth Century* (Washington, D.C., 1986), under no. 40; A. E. Popham, prepared for publication, introduction by Christopher Lloyd, *Old Master Drawings at Holkham Hall* (Chicago, 1986), no. 302.

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35. JACQUES DE GHEYN II
Dutch, 1565–1629
A Soldier on Guard Blowing Out a Match, ca. 1597
Pen and black ink and gray wash, 26.2 x 18 cm (10 5/16 x 7 1/8 in.). Inscribed: *40* in brown ink in the bottom right corner and *42* in graphite on the verso.
92.GA.71

This drawing is the model in the same direction for print no. 40 in the section on the use of the musket in de Gheyn's deluxe military manual, *Wapenhandelinge van Roers Musquetten ende Spiessen* (The Exercise of Arms), of 1607–08. Around 1597, Prince Maurice, the *Stadholder* of the Dutch Republic, or his nephew, Count Johann II, both reformers of the Dutch army, commissioned de Gheyn to prepare drawings for this manual. More than half of the drawings made for it survive in various museums, with the largest groups in the Maritime Museum, Greenwich, United Kingdom, and the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam.

PROVENANCE: J. Pzn. Zoomer (sale, Amsterdam, April 1725, lot 56); Jan Goeree (sale, Amsterdam, March 12, 1731); B. Hagelis (?) (Amsterdam, March 8, 1762); private collection, England; London art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. Q. van Regteren Altena, *Jacques de Gheyn: Three Generations* (The Hague, Boston, and London, 1983), vol. 3, no. 427, p. 75.

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36. NIKOLAUS KNUPFER
Dutch, 1603[?]–1655
Christ Before Pilate, ca. 1640–50
Brush and brown ink, brown wash, and white heightening, 51.2 x 62.5 cm (20 1/8 x 24 11/16 in.)
92.GA.73

This large-scale drawing was possibly made in preparation for one of two surviving paintings of this subject by Knupfer in the Pushkin Museum, Moscow, and in a German private collection. This work is stylistically consistent with other generally accepted drawings by Knupfer, including the signed and dated *Joshua Ordering the Bones of the Dead Exhumed and Burned* of 1646 in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin. His style of drawing is characterized by striking washes, pronounced, expressive outlines, large, multifigured compositions, and theatrical settings and costumes.

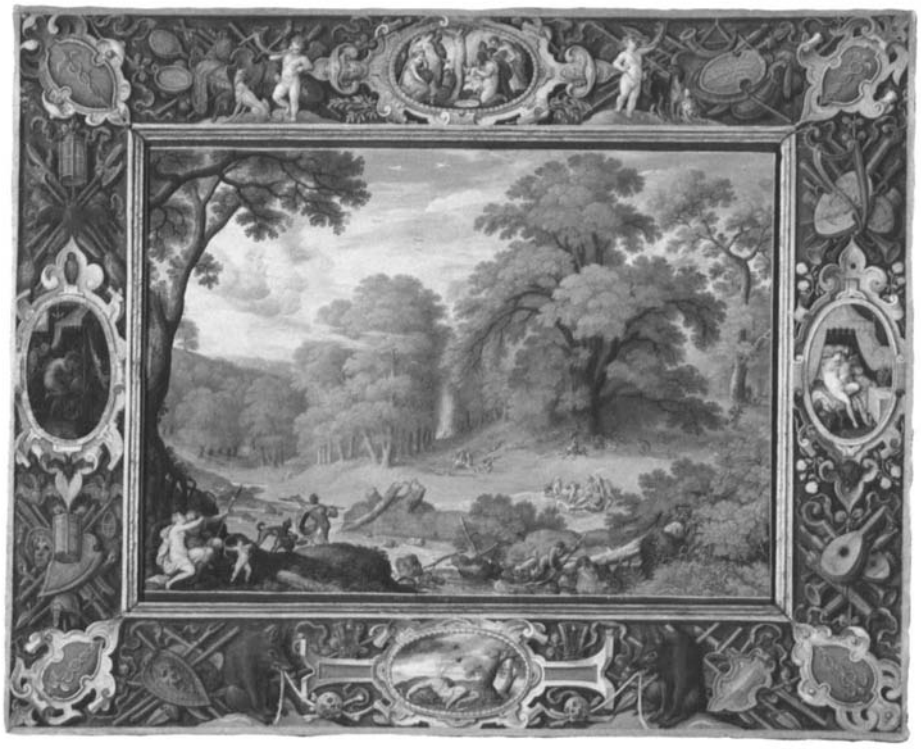
PROVENANCE: Hamburg art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Thomas Le Claire Kunsthandel VIII: Master Drawings 1500–1900*, exh. cat. (W. M. Brady and Co., Inc., New York, 1992), no. 20.

FLEMISH

37. HANS BOL
Flemish, 1534–1593
Landscape with the Story of Venus and Adonis, 1589
Gouache heightened with gold on vellum, 20.6 x 25.8 cm (8 1/8 x 10 1/8 in.). Signed and dated: *HBol/ 1589* in gold ink on lower edge of vellum and on the upper edge of the frame.
92.GG.28

This elaborate cabinet miniature consists of a central image and its painted frame, both of which show episodes from the story of Venus and Adonis. Bol made several earlier compositions of this story, including a drawing of 1568 in the Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf, and one of 1571 in the Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Antwerp.



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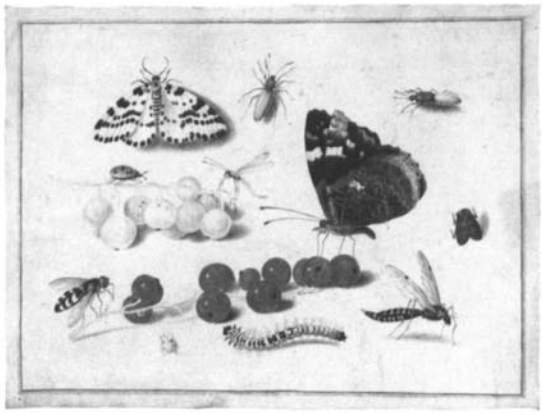
PROVENANCE: Baron Nathaniel de Rothschild, Vienna; Baron Alphonse de Rothschild, Vienna; Mrs. Charles E. Dunlap (sale, Sotheby, Parke, Bernet, New York, December 4, 1975, lot 302); British Rail Pension Fund (sale, Sotheby's, London, July 2, 1990, lot 30); New York art market.

38. JAN VAN KESSEL
Flemish, 1626–1676
Butterflies, Insects, and Currants, ca. 1650–55
Gouache and brown ink with metalpoint underdrawing, 13.1 x 16.9 cm (5 1/8 x 6 11/16 in.)
92.GC.50

Works comparable to this example include the set of four miniature paintings in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (inv. 564–567) and one in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (inv. 1327). The similarity of this gouache sheet to various signed and dated oil paintings by Jan van Kessel (two of which were sold at Christie's, London, June 27, 1975, lot 66), suggest that this drawing was made in the early 1650s.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, France (sale, Hôtel George V, April 14, 1989, lot 213); Boston art market.



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FRENCH

39. JACQUES CALLOT
French, 1592–1635
Study of a Rearing Horse, ca. 1616
Pen and brown ink, 32.4 x 18.5 cm (12 3/4 x 7 1/4 in.). Collection marks of R. P. Roupell (L. 2234) in the lower left corner and of Richard Cosway (L. 628) in the lower right corner; trimmed collection mark of J. van Haecken (L. 2516) on the lower right edge.
92.GA.35

This is one of over twenty drawings by Callot, mostly in brown ink with a few in red chalk, that are free renderings after "Horses of Different Lands," a series of engravings by Antonio Tempesta (Bartsch 941–68) of 1590. The horse, which is based upon no. 14 from this series, is, by comparison, boldly monumental and expressive of the power of the beast in motion. This horse recurs in other drawings by Callot (D. Ternois, *Jacques Callot: Catalogue complet de son oeuvre dessiné* [Paris, 1961], no. 30 [Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna] and no. 32 recto and verso [formerly United States art

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market]), which contain ideas for prints published around 1616.

PROVENANCE: Joseph van Haecken, London; Richard Cosway, London; R. P. Roupell, London; private collection (sale, Christie's, London, July 3, 1990, lot 103); New York art market.

40. LAURENT DE LA HYRE
French, 1606–1656
The Liberation of Saint Peter, ca. 1647
Black chalk and brown wash,
23.9 x 19.8 cm (9 3/8 x 7 3/4 in.)
92.GB.27

The function of this drawing is unknown, although it may have served as a preliminary study for an unexecuted painting or print. Its style is comparable to other sheets from La Hyre's maturity, including the *Presentation in the Temple* in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., and *Christ at the Tomb before the Three Marys* in the Musée du Louvre, Paris. These exhibit a similar restrained handling of chalk, with rational, well-measured compositional and lighting effects.

PROVENANCE: Sir Anthony Blunt, London; private collection, London; sale, Christie's, London, April 18, 1989, lot 92; London art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: T. Augarde and J. Thuillier, "La Hyre," *L'Oeil* 88 (April 1962), p. 21; J. P. Cuzin, *Raphael et l'art français,* exh. cat. (Grand Palais, Paris, 1983), pp. 135, 359, fig. 106; P. Rosenberg and J. Thuillier, *Laurent de la Hyre 1606–1656* (Paris, 1989), p. 274, no. 238.

40

41

41. CHARLES LEBRUN
French, 1619–1690
Portrait of M. Quatrehomme du Lys, 1657
Black and white chalk with yellow pastel, 35.2 x 27.7 cm (13 7/8 x 10 7/8 in.). Inscribed: *f.1657* in black chalk at the upper right, perhaps by Lebrun, and *portrait de M. Quatrehomme du Lys fait a St Cloud par M. Lebrun en 1657* in black ink on the remnant of the backing of the frame.
92.GB.107

The drawing depicts a certain M. Quatrehomme du Lys, who might have been a scholar or a jurist as he is presented holding a book. That the sheet was made in preparation for a painting cannot be ruled out, but its colorfulness, high degree of finish, and the inclusion of the date suggest an independent work of art. In pose and character this drawing is comparable to painted portraits by Lebrun in the Musée du Louvre, such as those of Charles-Alphonse du Fresnoy and Louis Testelin.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Paris; New York art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Thuillier et al., *Charles Le Brun, 1619–90,* exh. cat (Chateau de Versailles, July–October 1963), p. 53.

42. BARON FRANÇOIS GERARD
French, 1770–1837
The Father of Psyche Consulting the Oracle of Apollo, ca. 1797
Pen and brown and gray ink, gray and brown wash, white gouache, and black chalk underdrawing,
18.9 x 14.7 cm (7 7/16 x 5 3/4 in.)
92.GA.108

This drawing was made as a preparatory study for an engraving by Nicollet in *Les Amours de Psyché et de Cupidon par La Fontaine* (Paris, 1797). Gérard made numerous designs for book illustrations of the works of Racine, Virgil, and La Fontaine. The artist produced his most impressive pictures, such as the *Cupid and Psyche* of 1796, at the same time he created this sheet. It exemplifies his Neoclassical manner, which combines the techniques of David with a dream-like, somewhat surreal quality.

PROVENANCE: Henri Gérard, Paris (nephew of the artist); comte de Foy, Paris (husband of Henri Gérard's grandniece); comtesse de Foy, Paris; New York art market.

42

ITALIAN

43

43. VERONESE SCHOOL
Italian, active early to mid-fifteenth century
Female Figure with a Cithara and a Male Figure, ca. 1440
Pen and brown ink, 19.6 x 12.7 cm (7 3/4 x 5 in.). Inscribed: *45* in brown ink at the lower left and *Vieux maitre italien du XVe siecle.* in brown ink on the mount at the lower right; collection mark of the Marquis de Lagoy in the lower left corner.
92.GA.114

The female figure with a cithara is based upon a representation of Apollo with the same instrument on a Carnelian intaglio gem of the Augustan period (Naples, Museo Nazionale). The gem belonged to Cosimo de' Medici, who had it mounted around 1428 by Ghiberti. It is likely that the draftsman visited Florence and made the drawing there. The male figure appears to be based on a Roman sculpture of a Praxitelean type. The sheet is exemplary of a category of drawings made in the workshops of Gentile da Fabriano and Pisanello in which forms based either on the antique or on natural observation were set down for study purposes.

PROVENANCE: Marquis de Lagoy, Paris; private collection, Geneva; New York art market.

44. ANDREA MANTEGNA
Italian, 1431–1506
Two Standing Male Figures (recto); *A Reclining Figure, Two Partial Figures* (verso), ca. 1456
Pen and brown ink with traces of black chalk, 20.5 x 12.9 cm (8 1/16 x 5 1/8 in.). Inscribed: *sc. fiorentina antica* in brown ink in the lower right corner and *S.F. 107* on the mount; inscribed (verso): *mor/ualoxa predia emera/domenego/antonio* in brown ink by the artist (?) and with various other notations in brown ink.
92.GA.14

44 (recto)

44 (verso)

The figure at the right of the recto holding a book is closely comparable to the representation of John the Baptist at the right of the altarpiece Mantegna painted for the Church of San Zeno, Verona. The reclining figure on the verso is a study for the soldier in the San Zeno predella panel of the Resurrection. Given the close connection between these figures in the drawing and the altarpiece, it is clear that this sheet was made in preparation for the latter, probably early in its evolution. It joins the modello showing standing saints, purchased by the Museum at the Chatsworth sale of 1984, as one of two known drawings for the San Zeno altarpiece. The pair represents the range of Mantegna's draftsmanship from the loosest to most highly finished.

PROVENANCE: Sagredo collection (?), Venice; de Boissieu collection, Lyons; private collection, Geneva; private collection, New York.

45

45. NORTH ITALIAN
Active late fifteenth century
Portrait of a Man, ca. 1490
Pen and brown ink, 20.9 x 16 cm (8 1/4 x 6 5/16 in.). Inscribed (verso): *Pyli.* (?) and 5 in graphite.
92.GA.112

This drawing fits well within the context of painted portraits made in North Italy in the second half of the fifteenth century by a wide range of painters, including Mantegna and Giovanni Bellini. There is a second portrait drawing by the same hand in the Fondation Custodia, Paris, which was catalogued as North Italian, possibly Milanese or Veronese, by J. Byam Shaw (J. Byam Shaw, *The Italian Drawing of the Frits Lugt Collection* [Paris, 1983], vol. 1, no. 227). The breadth and painterliness of this drawing, calling to mind parallels with portraits by Giovanni Bellini, indicate that the artist may well be Venetian.

PROVENANCE: private collection, England; private collection, Geneva; New York art market.

46. NORTH ITALIAN
Active second half of the fifteenth century
Equestrian Figure, ca. 1490
Red chalk, 21.7 x 17.8 cm (8 1/2 x 6 15/16 in.). Inscribed: remnants of a trimmed-off inscription in brown ink in the lower right corner; inscribed (verso): *S.V.n: 5* in brown ink.
92.GA.113

The drawing depicts an equestrian figure before a landscape with a city view in the distance. The face of the rider resembles that of Francesco Gonzaga, 4th marquis of Mantua, as compared with his portrait in Mantegna's *Madonna della Vittoria* (Paris, Musée du Louvre) and a drawing by a North Italian artist in the National Gallery, Dublin. The heroic classical pose of the victorious rider is of Antique inspiration and, along with the naturalism of pose and expression, relate the sheet to the style and intellectual outlook of Mantegna. There are no red chalk drawings by him, however, and the somewhat lower standard of draftsmanship here suggests an author such as Bonsignori, who was influenced by Mantegna and was commissioned in the early 1490s to paint a documented but now lost victory portrait of Francesco Gonzaga.

PROVENANCE: Sagredo collection (?), Venice; de Boissieu collection, Lyons; private collection, Geneva; New York art market.

46

47 (recto)

47 (verso)

47. AMICO ASPERTINI
Italian, 1474/75–1552
Hunting Scene (recto); *Various Studies* (verso), ca. 1510
Pen and brown ink, 34.5 x 24.3 cm (13 5/8 x 9 9/16 in.). Collection mark *W* (unknown) in lower right corner; inscribed (verso): *No. 41* twice and *15 cent.* in graphite.
92.GA.31

The preponderance of female figures in this hunting scene, as well as the bathers in the left middle ground, suggest that the subject may be Diana and her nymphs, although they are not depicted in the traditional fashion. On the verso, the artist has lightly sketched two reclining male figures twice in a frieze-like manner along with an architectural motif. The sheet is characteristic of Aspertini's pen style, as seen in the three extant sketchbooks by the artist (Codex Wolfegg, Waldburg-Wolfegg collection, Baden-Württemberg, and London, British Museum). It is not related to a known painting by him.

PROVENANCE: Private collection (sale, Sotheby's, London, July 4, 1975, lot 57); Boston art market.

48. FRANCIABIGIO
(Francesco di Christofano)
Italian, 1484–1525
Standing Male Figure, ca. 1515
Black chalk, 46.7 x 34.2 cm (18 7/16 x 13 1/2 in.) [irregularly shaped]. Inscribed (verso): *S.F. no: 21* in brown ink.
92.GB.13

The artist has depicted a young male figure casually posed and holding a book or tablet upon which he seems to be writing or sketching. He is dressed in contemporary fashion, wearing a cap, knee breeches, and a cape. The drawing was probably made from life, with the model possibly a fellow artist or workshop assistant. The drawing is typical of Franciabigio's figure studies, such as those of standing male models in Modena, Galleria Estense, and Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung.

PROVENANCE: Sagredo collection (?), Venice; de Boissieu collection, Lyons; private collection, Lugano; private collection, New York.

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49. GIULIO ROMANO
(Giulio Pippi)
Italian, ca. 1499–1546
The Sacrifice of Isaac, ca. 1516–18
Red chalk, 28.3 x 19.1 cm (11 1/8 x 7 1/2 in.). Collection marks of Richard Houlditch (L. 2214) in the lower right and Earl Spencer (L. 1531) in the lower left. Inscribed (verso of the mount): *L/No. 6* in black ink.
92.GB.37

This drawing, one of the earliest known by Giulio, has only recently surfaced. It was made as a model for a print executed by Agostino Veneziano (*The Illustrated Bartsch 26, Formerly Vol. 14 [Part 1]: The Works of Marcantonio Raimondi and of His School,* K. Oberhuber, ed. [New York, 1978], no. 5[6]). Ferino relates it to the two red chalk studies of apostles at Chatsworth, which were also made as designs for prints, also pointing out that the composition is derived from Raphael's fresco of the same subject in the vault of the Stanza d'Eliodoro in the Vatican (see Ferino in *Giulio Romano*).

PROVENANCE: Richard Houlditch, London; Earl Spencer, Althorp; private collection, England (sale, Sotheby's, London, July 5, 1988, lot 11); London art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Ferino in *Giulio Romano,* exh. cat. (Mantua, Palazzo Té, 1989), p. 250.

50 (recto)

50 (verso)

50. ANDREA DEL SARTO
Italian, 1486–1530
Two Male Figures Behind a Balustrade
(recto and verso), ca. 1525
Red chalk, 17.5 x 20 cm
(6 7/8 x 7 7/8 in.)
92.GB.74

The purpose of this imposing, newly discovered sheet by Sarto remains unknown. A pair of male figures leaning on balustrades appears on both the recto and the verso. The figures hold books or tablets and might represent the Four Evangelists. It has been suggested that the studies may be related to Sarto's designs for the Four Evangelists found on the Passerini altar frontal or to the temporary decorations he contributed to the festivities surrounding the triumphal entry of Pope Leo X into Florence in 1515 (see Bellinger and McCorquodale, *Drawing in Florence 1500–1650*), but it might well be that they were executed at a slightly later date in preparation for a lost or never realized painted project.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Lugano; Munich art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: K. Bellinger and C. McCorquodale, *Drawing in Florence 1500–1650*, exh. cat. (Harari and Johns, London, 1991), no. 2.

51 (recto)

52

51. AGNOLO BRONZINO
Italian, 1503–1572
Study of a Male Hand (recto); *Studies of Male Heads and the Rear View of a Male Torso* (verso), ca. 1542–45
Black chalk (recto); pen and brown ink (verso), 7.5 x 15.3 cm (3 x 6 in.). Unknown collection mark *OM* in the lower right corner; inscribed (verso): *S.F.n.2* in brown ink.
92.GB.40

This newly discovered drawing by Bronzino shows a man's hand, carefully rendered, possibly from life. The study is very close to the hand of Joseph of Arimathea in the painting *The Deposition* of around 1542–45 (Besançon, Musée des Beaux-Arts). The heads on the verso are studies for the cluster of heads in the painting's upper right, which includes that of Joseph of Arimathea.

PROVENANCE: (?) Sagredo collection, Venice; de Boissieu collection, Lyons; Munich art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. R. Goldner, "A New Bronzino Drawing," *Master Drawings* 28, no. 3 (1990), pp. 262–64; K. Bellinger and C. McCorquodale, *Drawing in Florence 1500–1650*, exh. cat. (Harari and Johns, London, 1991), no. 5; L. Nichols, "Hendrick Goltzius," *Bulletin of the Philadelphia Museum of Art* (Winter 1992), p. 45, n. 25.

51 (verso)

52. GIORGIO VASARI
Italian, 1511–1574
Studies of a Male Nude, Drapery, and a Hand, ca. 1555–65
Red chalk, 36 x 24.3 cm (14 3/16 x 9 9/16 in.). Inscribed: *Michel Angelo* and *143* in brown ink and *51* in purple ink at the bottom right.
92.GB.36

In this descendent of Michelangelo's Sistine Ceiling *ignudi,* Vasari has placed emphasis upon the muscular body and oversized hands, only lightly indicating the visage. Other stylistically similar drawings of nudes in red chalk by Vasari are in the Uffizi, Florence, and the British Museum, London.

PROVENANCE: Sale, Sotheby's, New York, January 12, 1990, lot 33; London art market.

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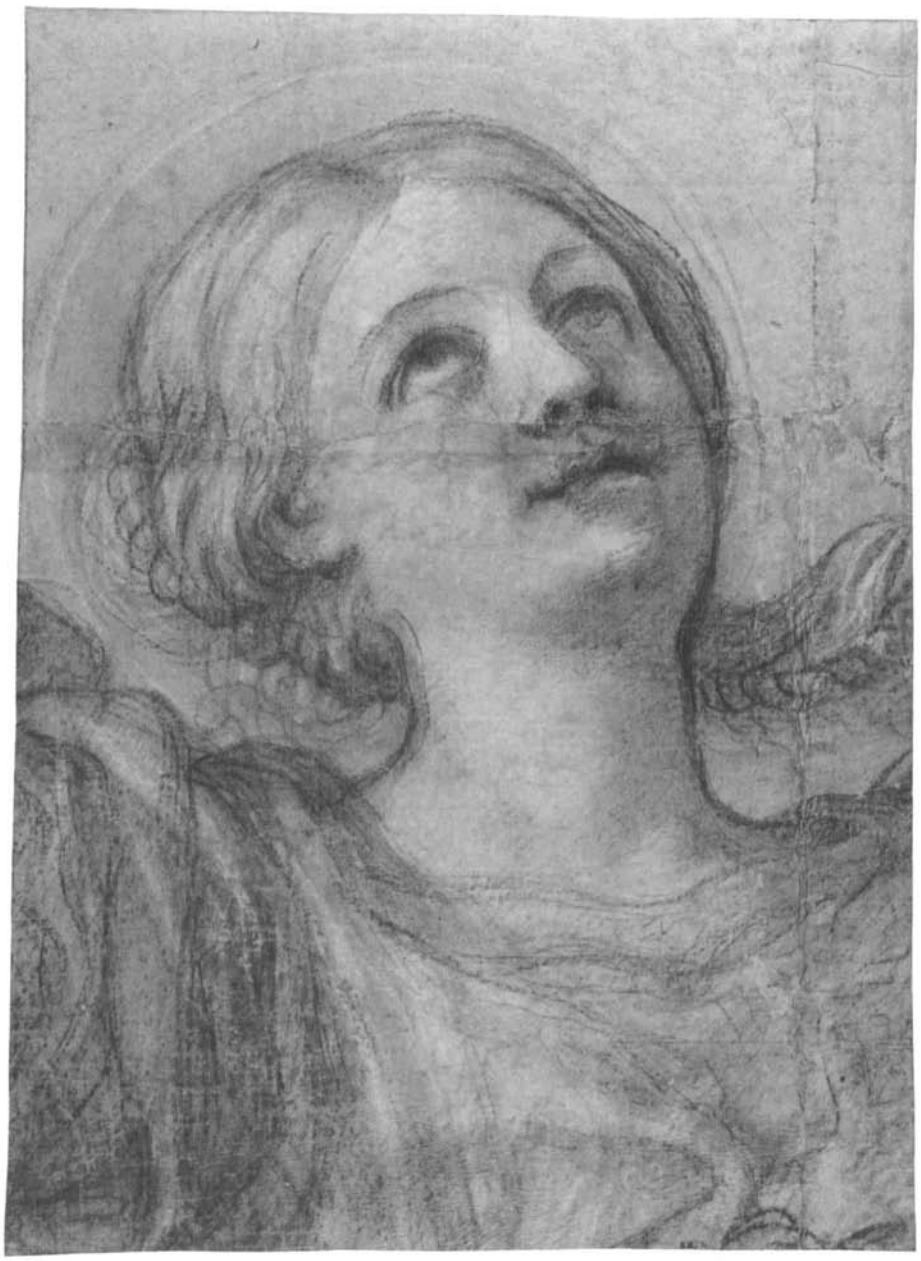
53. GIROLAMO MUZIANO
Italian, 1528(?)–1592
Mountainous Landscape with a Waterfall, ca. 1570–75
Pen and brown ink, 48 x 38.3 cm (18 15/16 x 15 3/16 in.). Inscribed: *Steph. Della Bella* in graphite twice on the mount; collection mark of Jonathan Richardson, Sr., (L. 2184) at bottom center; marked (verso): collection mark of Kurt Meissner.
92.GA.38

This large sheet served as a study of the landscape setting in another drawing by Muziano (present location unknown) that includes a hermit saint in the left corner (J. C. J. Bierens de Haan, *L'Oeuvre gravé de Cornelis Cort* [The Hague, 1948], pl. 31). It is closely related to several others (J. Byam Shaw, *The Italian Drawings of the Frits Lugt Collection* [Paris, 1983], vol. 1, nos. 131–32) that were engraved between 1573 and 1575 by Cornelis Cort as part of the series "Seven Penitent Saints" after Muziano. The Museum's drawing was probably also made in connection with this project.

PROVENANCE: Jonathan Richardson, Sr., London; Kurt Meissner, Zurich; British Rail Pension Fund, London (sale, Sotheby's, London, July 2, 1990, lot 20); London art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Handzeichnungen Alter Meister aus Schweizer Privatbesitz,* exh. cat. (Kunsthalle, Bremen, and Kunsthaus, Zurich, April–December 1967), no. 63; F. Forster-Hahn, *Old Master Drawings from the Collection of Kurt Meissner, Zurich,* exh. cat. (Stanford University, 1969–70), no. 23.



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54. DOMENICHINO
(Domenico Zampieri)
Italian, 1581–1641
Saint Cecilia, ca. 1612–15
Black and white chalk on gray paper, pricked for transfer, 46.7 x 34.2 cm (18 7/16 x 13 1/2 in.). Inscribed: *2* in brown ink near the lower right edge; collection mark of Richard Houlditch (L. 2214) near the lower right edge; inscribed (verso): *head of St. Cecilia in the Cieling* [sic] *of a Chapel, dedicated to her in the Church of St. Luigi in Rome* and *1737.* in brown ink.
92.GB.26

In 1612, Domenichino was commissioned to paint five frescoes of scenes from Saint Cecilia's life for the Polet chapel in the Church of San Luigi dei Francesi, Rome. The present drawing is a fragment of a cartoon preparatory to the fresco, *Saint Cecilia in Glory,* in the chapel vault. A cartoon by Domenichino for the entire fresco, containing the complete figure of Cecilia and accompanying angels and putti (Musée du Louvre, Paris) is closer to the fresco. The present drawing

thus most likely formed part of Domenichino's initial cartoon for the fresco, which he replaced with the cartoon in the Louvre for reasons yet unknown.

PROVENANCE: Richard Houlditch, London; John Gere, London; London art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Y. Tan Bunzl et al., *Italian Seventeenth-Century Drawings from British Private Collections,* exh. cat. (Edinburgh Festival Society, Scottish Arts Council, 1972), no. 43; R. Spear, "Preparatory Drawings by Domenichino," *Master Drawings* 6, no. 2 (1968), pp. 114–15, pl. 4; idem, *Domenichino* (New Haven, 1982), pp. 182, 184, n. 72.

55

55. VALERIO CASTELLO
Italian, 1625–1659
The Agony in the Garden, ca. 1645
Red chalk, pen and brown ink, brown wash, and white gouache heightening on light brown paper, 13 x 15.8 cm (5 1/8 x 6 1/4 in.).
Inscribed: *Parmigianino* in brown ink in the lower left corner.
92.GB.78

This drawing is related to other early examples of Castello's draftsmanship, such as *The Adoration of the Shepherds* (Oxford, Christ Church), *The Finding of Moses* (Paris, Musée du Louvre), and a sheet in a private Milanese collection with an equestrian subject. The Christ Church drawing is a study for a signed print by Castello; its stylistic similarity to the Museum's sheet suggests that the latter might have been intended as a design for a print as well.

PROVENANCE: Thomas Coke, 1st Earl of Leicester, Holkham Hall; by descent to the present Viscount Coke (sale, Christie's, London, July 2, 1991, lot 53); London art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Newcome, "Valerio Castello: A Genoese Master of the Seicento," *Apollo* 108, no. 201 (November 1978), p. 326; idem, "More Drawings by Valerio Castello," *Per A. E. Popham* (Parma, 1981), pp. 187–88, 191; A. E. Popham prepared for publication, introduction by C. Lloyd, *Old Master Drawings at Holkham Hall* (Chicago, 1986), no. 84.

56

56. ALESSANDRO ALGARDI
Italian, 1598–1654
Amphitrite on a Chariot, ca. 1645–50
Black chalk, partially pricked for transfer, 30.4 x 44.8 cm (11 15/16 x 17 5/8 in.)
92.GB.39

The goddess Amphitrite glides upon the water in a chariot drawn by dolphins and Triton, while her husband, Poseidon, appears in the background at the right, carrying his trident and riding a shell pulled by two hippocampi. The left side of the drawing has been pricked, indicating that the design was to be transferred to another surface. It may have been made for a sculpted relief, such as one of the stucco decorations designed by Algardi for the Villa Belrespiro (Doria Pamphili), Rome; these are comparable to the drawing in style and subject matter.

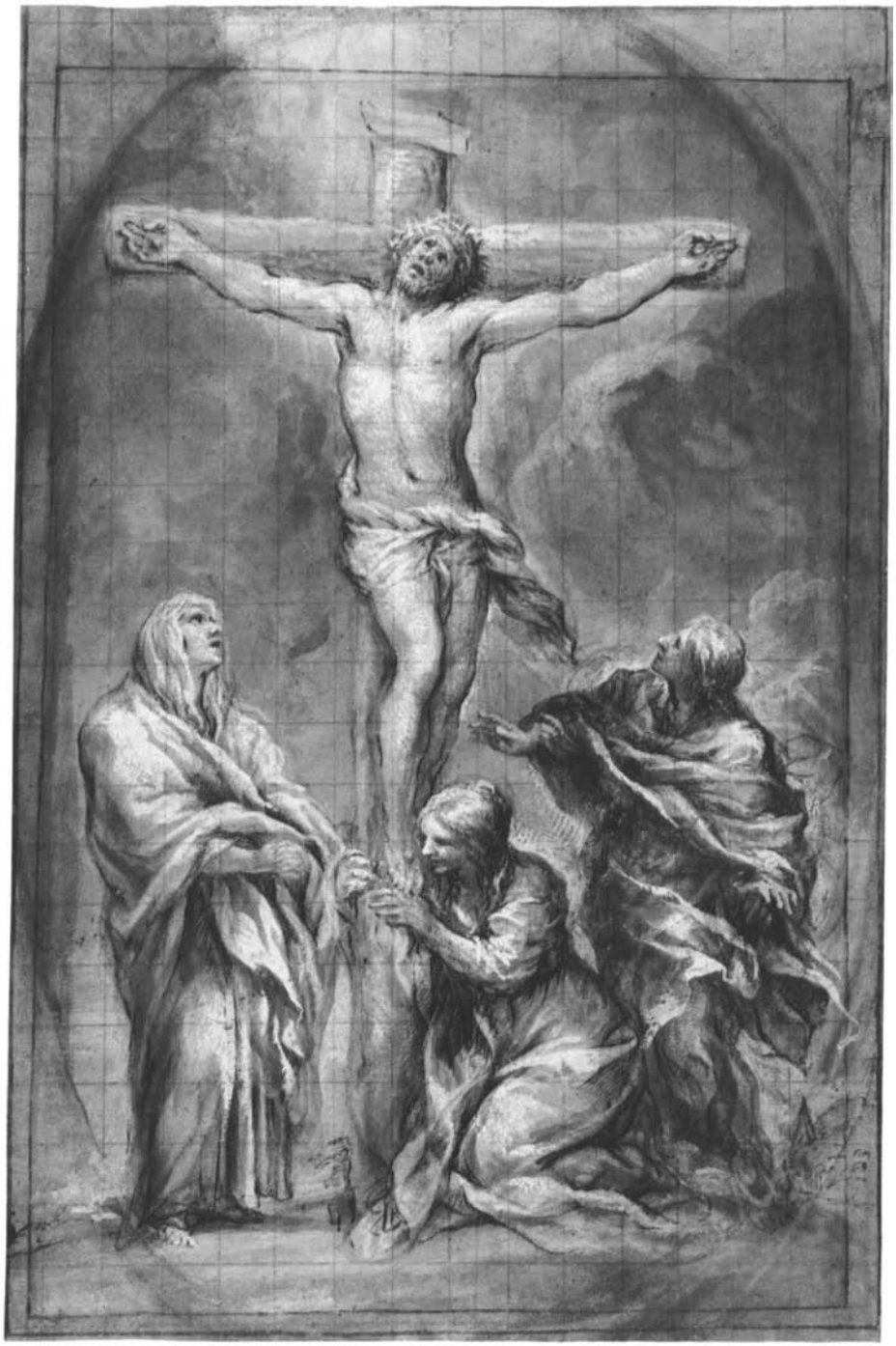
PROVENANCE: Private collection (sale, Sotheby's, London, July 2, 1990, lot 37); London art market.

57 (recto)

57. FILIPPO BALDINUCCI
Italian, 1625–1696
Portrait of a Man (recto); *Portrait of a Man* (accidental offset) (verso), ca. 1660
Red and black chalk, 23.2 x 16.5 cm (9 1/8 x 6 1/2 in.). Inscribed (verso): *I.1032* and *Filippo Baldinucci 1624–1696* in graphite; *6* in brown ink; collection mark of H. S. Reitlinger (L. 2274a).
92.GB.33

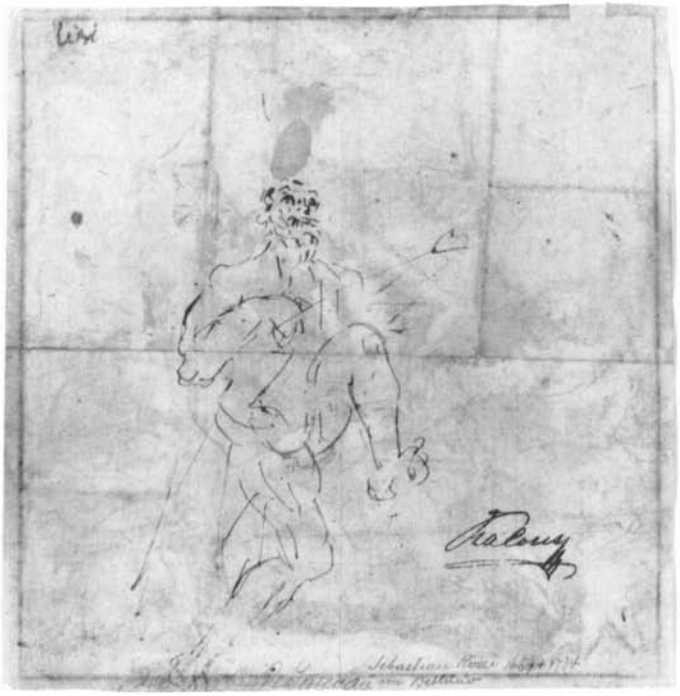
This drawing is related to a group of around fifty portrait drawings by Baldinucci in red and black chalk, the majority of which are in the Uffizi, Florence. Annotations on many of the Uffizi sheets indicate that many of the sitters were Florentine aristocrats and artists. The sitter in the present example has not yet been identified.

PROVENANCE: Henry Scipio Reitlinger, London (sale, Sotheby's, London, December 9, 1953, part of lot 19); G. Heinmann, London; private collection, United States; Boston art market.



58

59 (recto)



59 (verso)

58. PIETRO DA CORTONA
(Pietro Berrettini)
Italian, 1596–1669
Christ on the Cross with the Virgin Mary, Mary Magdalene, and Saint John, ca. 1661
Black chalk, pen and brown ink, gray wash, and white heightening, squared in black chalk, with an oval drawn in red chalk, on light brown paper, 40.3 x 26.5 cm (15 7/8 x 10 7/16 in.). Inscribed: *30* in brown ink in the lower right corner of the mount; inscribed (verso of the mount) *P. Cortona* in brown ink.
92.GB.79

This drawing served as a preparatory study for a painting Pietro da Cortona executed for the high altar of the Church of San Tommaso di Villanova in Castelgandolfo. The altarpiece is oval, as the preparatory drawing indicates, and corresponds closely to the study except for a slight difference in the positioning of Christ's head. The altarpiece was commissioned by Pope Alexander VII (reigned 1655–67), who also asked Bernini to design sculptural elements for the church, including the altar frame surrounding Cortona's painting.

PROVENANCE: Thomas Coke, 1st Earl of Leicester, Holkham Hall; by descent to the present Viscount Coke (sale, Christie's, London, July 2, 1991, lot 30); New York art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Seventeenth-Century Art in Europe: An Illustrated Souvenir of the Exhibition of Seventeenth Century Art in Europe at the Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1938* (London, 1938), p. 102; A. E. Popham, "Seventeenth-Century Art in Europe at Burlington House II: The Drawings," *Burlington Magazine* 72, no. 418 (January 1938), p. 19; G. Briganti, *Pietro da Cortona o delle pittura barocca* (Florence, 1962), pp. 264, 304, under no. 137 (and second ed., 1982, ibid); A. E. Popham, prepared for publication, introduction by Christopher Lloyd, *Old Master Drawings at Holkham Hall* (Chicago, 1986), no. 107; A. Lo Bianco, "La decorazione delle fabbriche religiose di Castelgandolfo nei secoli XVII e XVIII: Dalle imprese di Papa Chigi ad una commitenza dei Gesuiti," *L'Art per i papi e per i principi nella campagna romano grande pittura del '600 e del '700* (Rome, 1990), vol. 2, pp. 126, 144, n. 49.

59. SEBASTIANO RICCI
Italian, 1659–1734
The Death of Seneca (recto); *Figure Study* (verso), ca. 1705
Pen and brown ink, brown wash, and black chalk (recto); pen and brown ink (verso), 17.9 x 17.5 cm (7 x 6 7/8 in.). Inscribed: *Ba.\E* in brown ink in the upper right corner; *no 61* and *B. Ricci* in brown ink at the bottom right; inscribed (verso): *Der Sterbende Seneca* and *Sebastian Ricci 1659–1734* and *von Belluno* in graphite; an unidentified collection mark.
92.GA.32

Ricci here depicts Seneca being placed in a bath of warm water after slitting his wrists, while two scribes record his last words. The sketch on the verso may be another study for Seneca. The drawing was most likely made in preparation for a painting of the same subject in a private collection, Trieste (J. Daniels, *Sebastiano Ricci* [Hove, 1976], p. 119, no. 430).

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Geneva; Boston art market.

60

60. FRANCESCO PANINI
Italian, 1745–1812
View of the Farnese Gallery, Rome,
ca. 1775
Black chalk, pen and black ink, gray wash, and white gouache heightening, partially pricked for transfer, 42.5 x 27.7 cm (16 3/4 x 10 7/8 in.). Inscribed: *No. 5* and *160* in black chalk in the lower right corner; unidentified collection mark in the lower left corner.
92.GG.16

This is a view of the interior of the great gallery of Palazzo Farnese, Rome, decorated with mythological scenes painted by Annibale and Agostino Carracci with the assistance of Domenichino. The fresco decorations, begun in 1597, were intended to complement Cardinal Odoardo Farnese's collection of antiquities, which were still in situ when this drawing was made. This example served as a preparatory study for an etching, one of six views of the Galleria Farnese executed by Giovanni Volpato and published in 1777.

PROVENANCE: Hippolyte Destailleur, Paris (sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, May 19, 1896, lot 476); Dr. Walter Hugelshofer, Zurich; private collection, Munich; private collection, New York (sale, Christie's, London, July 3, 1990, lot 94); London art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Stillman, "The Gallery for Lansdowne House: International Neoclassical Architecture and Decorations in Microcosm," *Art Bulletin* 52, no. 1 (March 1970), p. 77; W. Vitzhum, *I Disegni dei maestri: Il barocca a Roma* (Milan, 1971), p. 91, fig. 33; G. Marini, *Giovanni Volpato, 1735–1803* (Bassano, 1988), p. 133, under no. 207.

61. FELICE GIANI
Italian, 1758–1823
Allegory on the Life of Canova,
ca. 1822–23
Black chalk, brown ink, and watercolor, 35.9 x 62.5 cm (14 1/8 x 24 11/16 in.). Inscribed: *ALLA IMORTALITA FIDIA PRASITALI CANOVA* in black ink by the artist in the upper left; *VEN . . . MARCO* in black ink by the artist in the lower right; *Il tempo scopre la Verita, a Minerva, nel tempio della imortalia* in black ink by the artist along the lower edge; *Giani* in brown ink in the lower left.
92.GG.17

Within a Pantheon-like structure, the sculptor Antonio Canova (1757–1822) is escorted toward a circular monument by Minerva while being crowned with a laurel wreath by Fame. In the center, Victory inscribes Canova's name after those of Phidias and Praxiteles. At the base of the monument, Chronos unveils Canova's sculpture *Theseus and the Minotaur,* and at the far right, Evil is destroyed by the lion of San Marco, symbol of Canova's native Venice. This drawing was an idea for the monument to Canova that Giani was designing with the architect Gianantonio Antolini following Canova's death in 1822. The project was never realized.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Lugano; Boston art market.

61

Decorative Arts

62 (one of a pair)

63 (one of four)

62. *Pair of Lidded Bowls*
French (Paris), ca. 1775
Glass; gilt bronze, H: 22.9 cm (9 in.); W: 15.9 cm (6 1/4 in.); D: 13.3 cm (5 1/4 in.)
92.DK.1.1–.2

The eighteenth-century fashion for mounting various materials such as rock crystal, hardstone, and porcelain is well known from the substantial number of objects that survive, but these *pot-pourri* vessels are rare survivals of mounted cut glass.

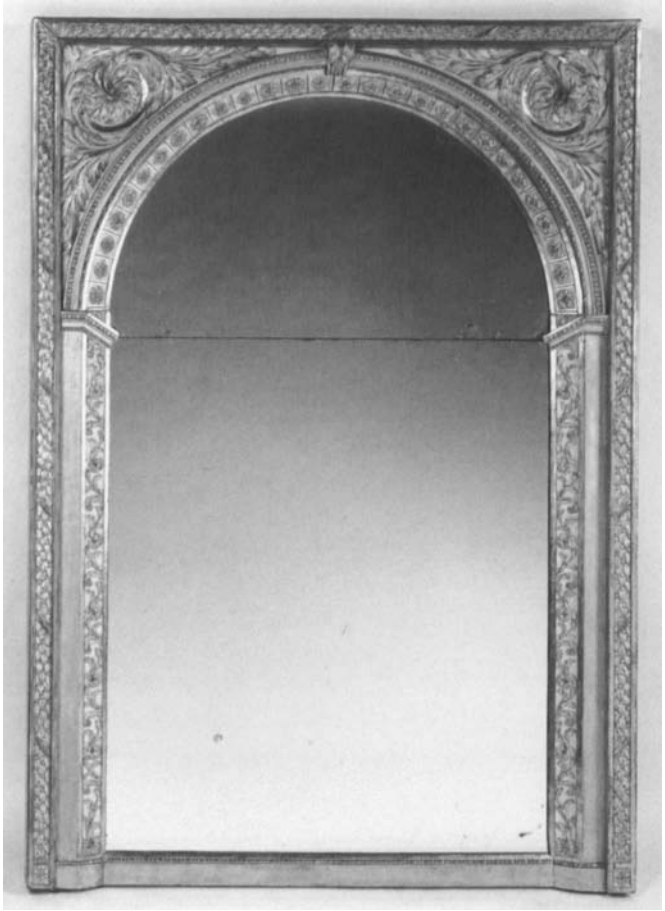
PROVENANCE: [Bernard Baruch Steinitz, Paris].

63. *Set of Four Wall Lights*
French (Paris), ca. 1765–70
Attributed to Philippe Caffieri
Gilt bronze, H: 57 cm (1 ft. 10 3/4 in.); W: 39 cm (1 ft. 3 1/4 in.); D: 26 cm (10 1/4 in.)
92.DF.18.1–.4

These wall lights are closely related to a drawing in the University Library, Warsaw, that is inscribed *Inventé & Executé par P. Caffieri Sculpteur et Sizeleur Du Roy à Paris 1768*. The *bobèche* and drip pans on each arm of the wall lights are identical to those in the drawing, thus allowing for an attribution to the *bronzier* Philippe Caffieri. The Museum already owns a set of six wall lights by Caffieri (accession numbers 78.DF.263.1–.4 and 83.DF.85.1–.2) produced after the design mentioned above, one of which is signed *Caffieri*. The *bobèche* and drip pans on the latter six examples differ slightly from those in the drawing in that they do not include a Greek key motif on the *bobèche,* but rather have small "pearls" in its place. All of these wall lights may have been part of a commission for Stanislas Poniatowski, who was elected King of Poland as Stanislas II in 1764. Poniatowski began the total redecoration of the old Royal Palace at Warsaw immediately after becoming king, employing a number of Parisian craftsmen such as Caffieri for this purpose.

PROVENANCE: [B. Fabre et Fils, Paris]; private collection, France; [Maurice Segoura, Paris].

64 (one of a pair)



65

64. *Pair of Mounted Vases*
Porcelain: Chinese (Kangxi), ca. 1662–1722
Mounts: French (Paris), ca. 1770–75
Hard-paste porcelain, gilding (worn); gilt-bronze mounts, H: 49 cm (1 ft. 7 1/4 in.); W: 24.7 cm (9 3/4 in.); D: 20 cm (7 7/8 in.). Vase .1 bears a torn paper label underneath printed with *HELIOT FILS. eIII* . . . and vase .2 is stamped once with *EM* on the base mount.
92.DI.19.1–.2

The gilt-bronze mounts on these vases appear to be of unique form. Although the identity of the *bronzier* is not known, the original design and high quality of the bronzes indicate a craftsman of significant accomplishment. The mounts decorate a pair of Chinese vases of a type known as mirror black ware because the intensely hard glaze has a lustrous, metallic surface. The mirror black was originally tricked out with gilt traceries but, as is usually the case, the light Chinese gilding has mostly worn away. The vases were probably once fitted with small gilt-bronze lids, now lost.

PROVENANCE: Laurent Heliot, (?) Paris; (sold, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, December 3, 1985, lot 55, to [B. Fabre et Fils, Paris]).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Compagnie des Commissaires-Priseurs de Paris, *Drouot, 1985–1986: L'Art et les enchères* (Paris, ca. 1986), p. 302, illus. p. 210.

65. *Mirror Frame*
French (Paris), ca. 1780–85
Gilded and painted oak; mirror glass, H: 187.2 cm (6 ft. 1 3/4 in.); W: 131 cm (4 ft. 3 1/2 in.); D: 9.5 cm (3 3/4 in.)
92.DH.20

Mirror frames of this date and form were usually made as part of the paneling of a room. However, the paneled construction of this piece, clearly seen on the obverse, indicates that it was made as a separate item, meant to stand alone. The false perspective used on the pilasters and capitals was a frequently used decorative device in the Neoclassical period and had its roots in the classical architecture shown in Roman wall paintings.

PROVENANCE: [Kraemer et Cie, Paris].

66

66. *Tapestry,* Le Cheval Rayé, *from the* Anciennes Indes *Series*
French, Gobelins manufactory, ca. 1690–1730
After a cartoon painted by Albert Eckhout (ca. 1610–1665) and Frans Post (1612–1680) and retouched by Jean-Baptiste Monnoyer (1636–1699), Jean-Baptiste Belin de Fontenay (1653–1715), René-Antoine Houasse (1644/45–1710), and François Bonnemer (1638–1689); with later additions by Alexandre-François Desportes (1661–1743)
Wool and silk, H: 326 cm (10 ft. 10 in.); W: 580.2 cm (18 ft. 10 in.).
A coat of arms of the Camus de Pontcarré de Viarmes de la Guibourgère family is woven in the center of the top border.
92.DD.21

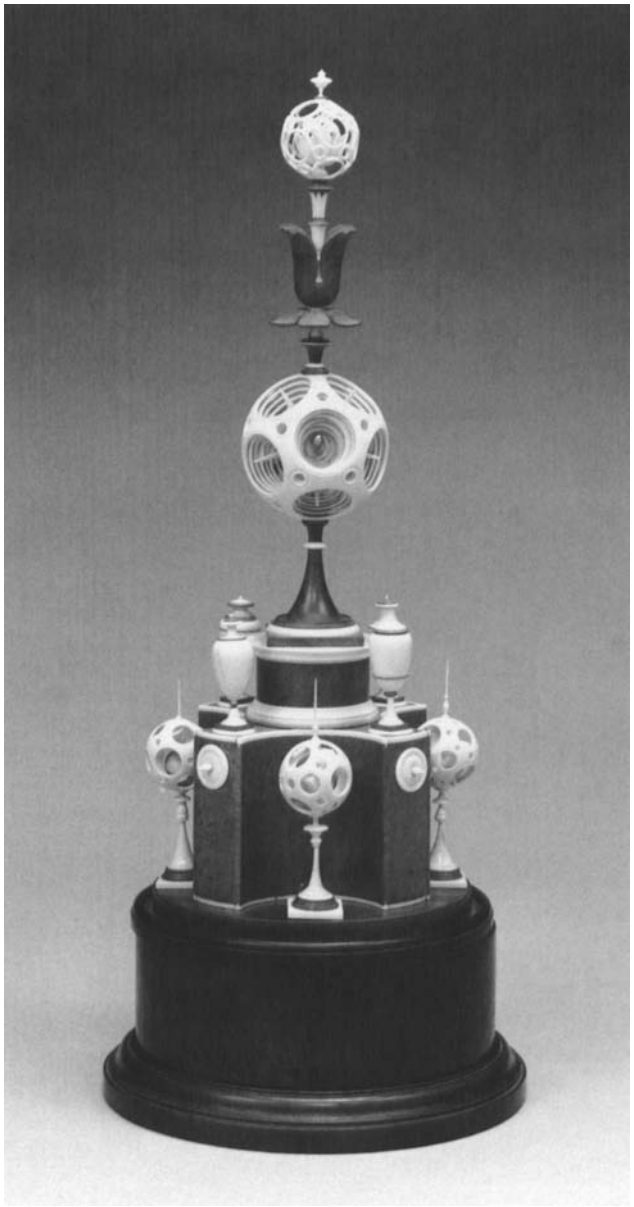
The *Anciennes Indes* tapestry series ultimately derived from studies made by two Dutch artists during an expedition to Brazil from 1637 to 1644. Albert Eckhout and Frans Post painted the flora, fauna, and people of northeast Brazil while accompanying the newly appointed Dutch governor of Brazil, Prince Maurice of Nassau (1604–1679), on a tour of the region. Upon their return to Europe, via Africa, Prince Maurice commissioned the artists to produce cartoons for a tapestry series of eight scenes, which were presented to Louis XIV in 1679. The French tapestry manufactory at the Gobelins employed French artists to prepare the cartoons for weaving. Seven sets were produced for the French crown between 1690 and 1730, but an unknown number of private weavings were also made. The series was so popular that the cartoons were ruined from overuse by 1730 and a second series called the *Nouvelles Indes* was designed by Alexandre-François Desportes. *Le Cheval Rayé* is usually a narrower composition, but this example has extensions to the left and right portraying native hunters, which were almost certainly added by the Gobelins artists, for they are not based upon the drawings by Eckhout and Post.

PROVENANCE: (?) Jean-Baptiste-Elie Camus de Pontcarré, seigneur de Viarmes (1702–1775), and his second wife, Françoise-Louise Raoul de la Guibourgère; by descent to Louis-Jean-Népomucène-François-Marie Camus de la Guibourgère (1747–1794); by descent to Alexandre-Prosper Camus de la Guibourgère (1793–1853), Château de la Guibourgère, Bretagne; [Bernard Blondeel, Antwerp].

67. Cabinet de Curiosité *Object*
French (Paris), ca. 1800
By François Barreau (1731–1814)
Thuya wood and ivory, H: 49.5 cm (1 ft. 7 1/2 in.); Diam (base): 20.6 cm (8 1/8 in.)
Stamped: *BARREAU A PARIS* once on each of the four upright petals of the thuya wood flower on the finial and once on the outside of the largest ivory sphere.
92.DH.75

This elaborately turned display piece, made as a demonstration of the maker's skill, was intended to amaze and astonish. Such objects were frequently found in the *cabinets des curiosité,* filled with such novelties, that were assembled by the virtuosi, dilettanti, and private scholars in the *siècle des lumières.* François Barreau was born in Toulouse and worked there until moving to Paris in 1799. Considered to be the best French turner of the time of Louis XVI and the Empire, he continued the craft of ivory turning, which had sprung up in the courts of northern Europe in the sixteenth century and was practiced by many emperors and kings, including Louis XV and Louis XVI.

PROVENANCE: H. C. Randier, Paris; [J. Kugel, Paris].



67

OBJECTS REMOVED FROM THE COLLECTION IN 1992

Commode (commode à vantaux)
French (Paris), ca. 1870–80
Oak veneered with mahogany, satinwood and various stained woods; gilt-bronze mounts; marble top, H: 101.9 cm (3 ft. 4 1/8 in.); W: 165.7 cm (5 ft. 5 1/4 in.); D: 61.9 cm (2 ft. 3/8 in.). Stamped: forged marks *J. H. RIESENER* and *JME.*
67.DA.8

Settee
Flemish, late nineteenth–early twentieth century
Gilded wood; tapestry upholstery, H: 136 cm (4 ft. 5 1/2 in.); W: 204.3 cm (6 ft. 8 7/16 in.); D: 57 cm (1 ft. 10 7/16 in.)
70.DA.72

Two Silk Panels
French (Paris), early nineteenth century
Silk and silver thread, H: 96.5 cm (3 ft. 2 in.); W: 53.3 cm (1 ft. 9 in.)
76.DH.21

Table (bureau plat)
French ([?] Paris), ca. 1880
Oak veneered with ebony, tortoiseshell, and brass; modern leather top; gilt-bronze mounts, H: 81.3 cm (2 ft. 8 in.); W: 180.5 cm (5 ft. 11 in.); D: 93 cm (3 ft. 5/8 in.)
81.DA.30

Sculpture and Works of Art

68 (one of five armchairs)

68 (one of seven side chairs)

68. *Set of Twelve Chairs* (Five armchairs and seven side chairs)
Probably Dutch colonial from Indonesia or Ceylon (Sri Lanka), ca. 1680–1720
Ebony and ebonized wood with inlaid ivory, armchairs, H: 106.7 cm (3 ft. 6 in.); W (at front): 61 cm (2 ft.); W (at back): 50.8 cm (1 ft. 8 in.); D: 49.4 cm (1 ft. 7 7/16 in.); side chairs, H: 101.6 cm (3 ft. 4 in.); W: 55.2 cm (1 ft. 9 3/4 in.); D: 47.5 cm (1 ft. 6 11/16 in.)
92.DA.24.1–.12

These chairs—which combine local iconography, decorative styles, and materials with Dutch models that were themselves based on Portuguese prototypes—were most likely made for Dutch colonizers of Southern Asia. Their form and decoration specifically recall the *frailero,* or "friar's chair," of Spanish origin, with spiral-turned elements in dark wood and low-relief carving on the stiles and armrests. The low-relief flowers and stippling are also reminiscent of the tightly scrolling foliate motifs of much southern Asian woodwork, metalwork, and weaving. The combination of Christian and Hindu motifs, such as a cherub head and a parrot (the Hindu symbol for beauty), underscores the stylistic eclecticism of the chairs.

PROVENANCE: Probably acquired around the turn of the eighteenth century by Thomas Thynne, 1st Viscount Weymouth, Longleat Castle, Wiltshire; Marquess of Bath, Longleat Castle, Wiltshire (sold, Christie's, London, November 17, 1988, lot 75); [Rainer Zietz, Ltd., London].

69

69. DESIGNED BY JACOPO LIGOZZI
Italian (born Verona), ca. 1547–1626
EXECUTED BY ROMOLO DI FRANCESCO FERRUCCI (called Del Tadda)
Italian (born Fiesole), active 1555–died 1621
Portrait of Pope Clement VIII (Ippolito Aldobrandini), 1600–01
Marble, lapis lazuli, mother-of-pearl, limestone, and calcite (some covering cartouches of painted paper or fabric) on and surrounded by a silicate black stone, with frame: 101.7 x 75.2 cm (39 13/16 x 29 5/8 in.); without frame: 97 x 68 cm (38 3/16 x 26 3/4 in.)
92.SE.67

This mosaic portrait is one of only four that are known to have been produced in the Medicean Galleria dei Lavori around 1600: a portrait of Cosimo I de' Medici probably created to adorn San Lorenzo's Cappella dei Principi, and now in the Museo dell'Opificio delle Pietre Dure, Florence; a portrait of Henri IV of France given to him by Grand Duke Ferdinand I on the occasion of the King's marriage to Maria de' Medici, now lost; and a portrait of Ferdinand I de' Medici probably intended to decorate either the Cappella dei Principi or the Tribuna, Florence, also now lost.

PROVENANCE: Commissioned by Grand Duke Ferdinand I de' Medici; given to Pope Clement VIII in 1601; Corsini collection, Rome, from at least 1853 through 1891; [Same Art, Ltd., Zurich].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Marco Lastri, *L'Osservatore Fiorentino sugli edifizi della sua patria,* vol. 6 (Florence, 1799), p. 37; A. Zobi, *Notizie storiche sull'origine e progressi dei lavori di commesso in pietre dure nell'I. e R. stabilimento di Firenze* (Florence, 1853), pp. 186–89; A. Gotti, *Le Gallerie di Firenze: Relazione al Ministro della pubblica istruzione in Italia* (Florence, 1872), p. 67; *Guida delle RR. Cappelle Medicee e R. opificio delle pietre dure in Firenze,* E. Marchionni, ed. (Florence, 1891), pp. 99–100; L. von Pastor, *The History of the Popes,* R. F. Kerr, ed. (London, 1952), vol. 23, p. 32; Mina Bacci, "Jacopo Ligozzi e la Sua Posizione nella Pittura Fiorentina," in *Proporzioni: Studi di Storia dell'Arte* 4 (1963), p. 75; A. M. Giusti et al., *Il Museo dell'Opificio delle Pietre Dure* (Florence, 1978), p. 282; A. M. Giusti, *Palazzo Vecchio: Committenze e collezionismo medicei* (Florence, 1980), p. 239; A. M. Giusti, *Pietre Dure Hardstones in Furniture and Decorations* (London, 1992), p. 143.

70 (one of a pair)

70. *Pair of Covered Vases*
Italian, early seventeenth century
Golden alabaster (*alabastro dorato*) with *paragone* marble bases, with lid: 35.5 x 42.7 cm (14 x 16 3/4 in.); without lid: 24 x 43 cm (9 1/2 x 17 in.)
92.DJ.68.1–.2

Extensively practiced in antiquity, hardstone carving was revived in the sixteenth century, particularly in Florence and Rome. These vases exemplify the late Mannerist style since their undulating boat-like, or *navicella,* form defies the unyielding nature of the stone from which they are carved. Golden alabaster, known at the time as Oriental alabaster, was particularly prized by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century collectors for its rarity and lustrous beauty.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, France (sold, Sotheby's, Monaco, March 3, 1990, lot 70); [Didier Aaron, Paris]; [Same Art, Ltd., Zurich, July 1990].

71 (tabletop)

This tabletop must have been produced sometime after 1565 since the rare breccia *di Tivoli,* surrounding the central alabaster oval and framed by an undulating band of *giallo antico* marble, was only discovered during the papacy of Pius IV (1559–65). Around the *giallo antico* band, the scrolling foliage set into *nero antico* marble exemplifies the more curvilinear and pictorial motifs that became popular toward the end of the century. Only after the turn of the century do these motifs begin to dominate tabletop surfaces and become rendered as three-dimensional interlaces.

PROVENANCE: Corsini collection, Florence, by at least the nineteenth century; [Same Art, Ltd., Zurich].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Ginori Lisci, *I Palazzi di Firenze nell'arte* (Florence, 1972), vol. 1, p. 152 (reproduces nineteenth-century photograph of table); A. Guicciardini Corsi Salviati, *Affreschi di Palazzo Corsini a Firenze 1650–1700* (Florence, 1989), pl. 23 (reproduces same photograph).

71. Pietre Dure *Tabletop on Gilt Wood Base*
Italian (Florence or Rome), top: ca. 1580–1600, base: ca. 1825
Marble (*giallo antico, nero antico, broccatello,* and *bianco e nero antico*), breccia (*di Tivoli, rossa, cenerina,* and *verde*), serpentine, alabaster (*fiorito* and *a tartaruga*), lapis lazuli, coral, rock crystal, and yellow and black jasper on a carved and gilt wood base, overall H: 89.9 cm (35 3/8 in.); top: 136.5 x 113 cm (53 3/4 x 44 1/2 in.)
92.DA.70

71

72

72. WORKSHOP OF BLAUSIUS PFEIFFER (called Fistulator)
German (Munich), active 1587–1622
Architectural Scene, ca. 1630–70
Scagliola (a mixture of stucco, glue, and colorants placed upon a stucco surface in imitation of inlaid hardstones) in an ebonized wood frame with gilt bronze mounts dating to 1730–40, with frame: 73 x 67 cm (28 3/4 x 26 3/8 in.)
92.SE.69

The scagliola technique was first developed in south Germany at the end of the sixteenth century as a cheaper and less time-consuming alternative to *pietre dure.* Blausius Fistulator, one of the earliest and most skilled practitioners of the medium, headed a talented family of scagliola workers whose production continued well into the seventeenth century. The Fistulator workshop specialized in images inspired by the illusionistic perspectives of architectural and scenographic prints, similar to the Italianate interior and landscape background depicted in this plaque. The frame displays the coat of arms of Pope Clement XII (Lorenzo Corsini, born 1652, reigned 1730–40). The treatment of the frame's dolphins and trumpet-blowing tritons, as well as the repeating scallop shell and foliate ornament, are typical of late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Italian design.

PROVENANCE: Corsini collection, Florence or Rome, by 1730, when Lorenzo Corsini (1652–1740) was elected Pope Clement XII; Corsini collection, Florence, by descent; [Same Art, Ltd., Zurich, 1991].

73. *Medal of Emperor Rudolf II*
Bohemian (Prague), beginning of the seventeenth century
Gold, 4.15 x 3.32 cm (1 4/5 x 1 3/10 in.).
Inscribed (obverse): *RVDOLPHVS II ROM IMP AVG REX HVNG BOE;* inscribed (reverse): *ASTRVM FVLGET CAES.*
Gift of Cyril Humphris
92.NJ.87

73 (obverse)

73 (reverse)

The naturalistic modeling and precise rendering of textures in this medal testify to the outstanding quality of metalwork at the Prague court of Rudolf II (1552–1612). The obverse of the medal represents the laureate bust of the Habsburg emperor in three-quarter view, accompanied by an inscription declaring Rudolf's power that reads (in translation): "Supreme Emperor of the Romans, King of Hungary and Bohemia." The medal's reverse depicts in low relief the constellation Capricorn—the conception sign of Augustus Caesar—ascending over the Earth with the Habsburg eagle and a twinkling star above. The inscription, translated, reads: "The emperor's star shines brightly." Although other versions of this medal exist in lead, bronze, or silver, this is the only known example in gold.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Scotland; Cyril Humphris, London.

BIBLIOGRAPHY (for other versions): J. Typotius, *Symbola Divina et Humana* (Prague, 1601–03, rpr. Graz, 1972), pp. 56–57, no. 38; K. Domanig, *Porträtmedaillen des Erzhauses Österreich* (Vienna, 1896), no. 116; G. Habich, *Die deutschen Schaumünzen des XVI Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1932), vol. 2, pt. 2, no. 3553, pl. 329; *Salton Collection,* exh. cat. (Bowdoin College Museum of Art, Maine, 1965), no. 114; E. Frala, *Beschreibung der Sammlung Böhmischer Münzen und Medaillen des Max Donebauer* (Graz, 1970), p. 133, no. 1385, pl. 27; *Prag um 1600*, exh. cat. (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, 1988), vol. 1, p. 586, no. 475.

74

74. *Bust of Commodus*
Italian, late sixteenth century
Marble, H (with socle): 95 cm (37 3/8 in.); socle H: 22.5 cm (8 7/8 in.)
92.SA.48

This bust is closely related to a purportedly ancient marble head of Commodus (born 161 A.D.; Roman emperor from 180–192 A.D.) in the Vatican Museum, and may have been intended to pass as a genuine antiquity. However, the ways in which the bust departs from its antique prototype suggest its origins in the Italian Mannerist aesthetic of the sixteenth century. The proportions of the face and neck have been thinned and elongated, the eyelids appear heavier, and the chest—which is absent in the Vatican Commodus—has been given great breadth and depth to make the head appear proportionately small. Although Commodus was not usually among the series of Caesar busts commonly sculpted in the sixteenth century to decorate grand *palazzi,* this portrait no doubt functioned as a classicizing element in a palatial interior.

PROVENANCE: Possibly to be identified with "a bust representing Commodus as a young man" mentioned in a letter to Henry Howard, 4th Earl of Carlisle, and bought for Castle Howard, Yorkshire (Castle Howard archives J12/12/10); definitely at Castle Howard by ca. 1812, when it is listed in an inventory (Castle Howard H2/1/2); collection of the Earls of Carlisle, Castle Howard, Yorkshire, by descent until 1991 (sold, Sotheby's, Castle Howard, Yorkshire, Nov. 11–13, 1991, lot 49); [Eric van Vredenburgh, Ltd., London].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Dallaway, *Anecdotes of the Arts in England* (London, 1800), p. 196; J. P. Neale, *Yorkshire Seats* (London, 1829), p. 4; R. Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain* (London, 1854), vol. 3, p. 331; A. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* (Cambridge, 1882), p. 329, no. 38; J. J. Bernouilli, *Römische Ikonographie, II. Die Bildnisse der römischen Kaiser* (Stuttgart, 1891), vol. 2, pt. 2, p. 233, no. 47; M. Wegner, *Die Herrscherbildnisse in antoninischer Zeit* (Berlin, 1939), p. 256; G. B. Waywell, *Classical Sculpture in English Country Houses* (London, 1978), p. 29, no. 68; M. Wegner, "Verzeichnis der kaiserbildnisse von Antoninus Pius bis Commodus, II. Teil," *Boreas* 3 (1980), p. 81; C. A. Picon in *Treasure Houses of Britain,* exh. cat. (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 1985), p. 325; C. Matthew, "Buy Buy Brideshead," *World of Interiors* (September 1991), p. 101, fig. 5.

75

75. POSSIBLY CAST FROM A MODEL BY JEAN RAON
French, 1630–1707
Jupiter, late seventeenth century
Bronze, 74.3 x 41.1 x 22 cm
(29 1/4 x 16 3/16 x 8 11/16 in.)
92.SB.106

This *Jupiter* appears to be a unique cast and is unusually large for a single figure in bronze of this date. In fact, few bronzes intended for interior decoration were produced in Baroque France until the very end of the seventeenth century, and those that were—such as Michel Anguier's (1612–1686) series of statuettes depicting gods and goddesses—were nearly half the size of the *Jupiter.* This figure is influenced by an ancient marble statue of Jupiter formerly in the Giustiniani palace in Rome, which was published in an engraved plate of the two-volume *Galleria Giustiniana* in 1631. The classicizing style of the bronze recalls the work of French Academy sculptors recruited for large-scale royal projects at the Tuileries, Versailles, Marly-Le-Roi, and other residences.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, United States (sold, Sotheby's, New York, May 26, 1992, lot 117); [Daniel Katz, Ltd., London].

OBJECTS REMOVED FROM THE COLLECTION IN 1992

Sideboard Cupboard
German, ca. 1580
Carved walnut, 116.3 x 131.4 x 64.1 cm
(65 1/2 x 51 3/4 x 25 1/4 in.)
78.DA.110

Traveling Desk
German (Augsburg?), ca. 1560
Carved walnut, 53.3 x 40.6 x 39.4 cm
(21 x 16 x 15 1/2 in.)
78.DA.111

Table
Italian, mid-eighteenth century
Gilt wood and scagliola, H: 86.3 cm
(34 in.)
68.DA.7

Judge's Chair
Italian, seventeenth century
Oak carcass inlaid with sycamore, walnut, and fruitwood, 212.2 x 93 x 54.1 cm
(83 1/2 x 36 5/8 x 21 1/4 in.)
68.DA.9

Judge's Chair
Italian, seventeenth century
Oak, 210 x 78 x 53.2 cm (82 5/8 x 30 3/4 x 21 in.)
68.DA.10

Table
Italian (Tuscany), late fifteenth century
Walnut, 69.9 x 66 x 139.7 cm (27 1/2 x 26 x 55 in.)
78.DA.122

HIRAM POWERS
American, 1805–1873
Bust of a Nude Woman (Greek Slave), 1867
Marble, 61 x 45 cm (24 x 17 3/4 in.)
79.SA.157

HIRAM POWERS
Bust of a Woman with Classical Headdress (Genevre), 1867
Marble, 61 x 45 cm (24 x 17 3/4 in.)
79.SA.158

HIRAM POWERS
Bust of a Woman with Headdress Containing an Anchor (Hope), 1867
Marble, 61 x 45 cm (24 x 17 3/4 in.)
79.SA.160

Photographs

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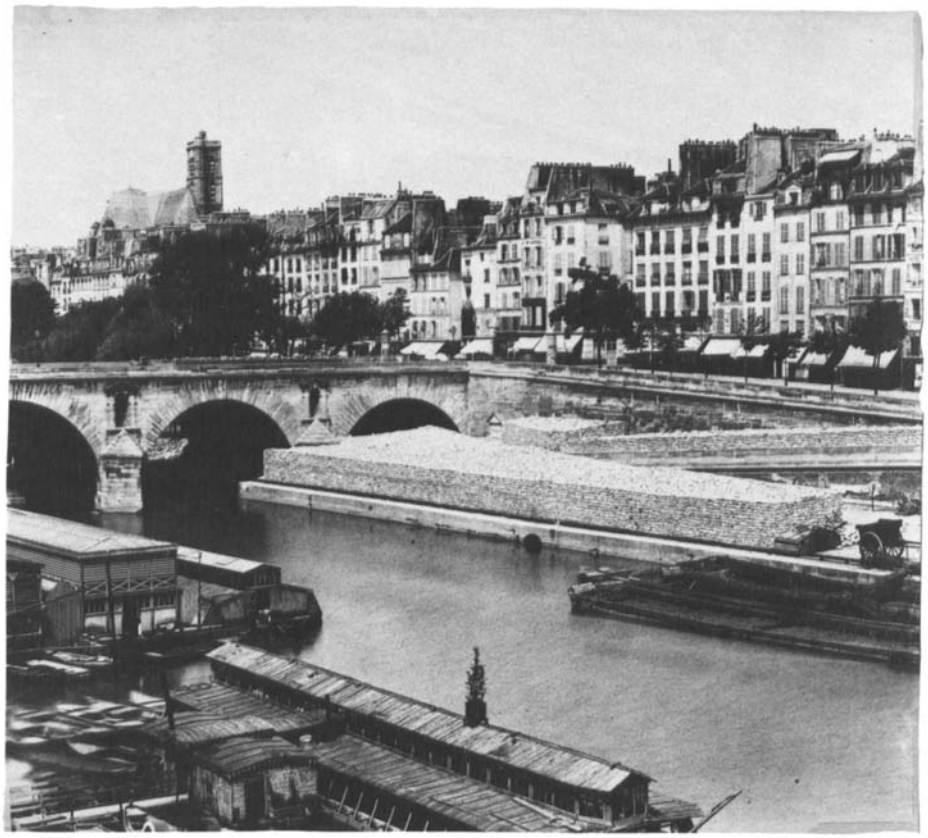

77

76. CHARLES NEGRE
French, 1820–1880
Hellenistic Sculpture, ca. 1845
Sixth plate daguerreotype, 9.2 x 7 cm
(3 5/8 x 2 3/4 in.)
Gift of Mr. and Mrs. William Knight Zewadski
92.XT.54

Like his friends and contemporaries Gustave Le Gray and Henri Le Secq, Charles Nègre studied painting in the studio of Paul Delaroche in the early 1840s before turning his attention to photography in 1844. During this period he continued to enter paintings in the annual salons.

Nègre experimented briefly with the daguerreotype at the beginning of his photographic career. Only about six of his daguerreotypes are now known to exist, four of which remain in his family's possession. The subject of this daguerreotype is an unknown Hellenistic variant of a statue of Herakles, of a type known as an *Alba Fucens* Herakles, characterized by his seated pose and the apples of the Hesperides held in one hand. The sculpture's location is unknown, but it was probably in France. Its scale is also unknown and whether it is an original, a replica, or a cast. The choice of subject is characteristic of Nègre. Much of his later work deals with sculpture, particularly the Gothic sculpture of the Cathedral of Chartres.

PROVENANCE: Nègre family, by descent; [Alain Paviot, Paris]; [Harry Lunn, Paris and New York]; William Zewadski, Tampa.

77. CHARLES NEGRE
The Pont Marie and the Quai des Célestins As Seen from the Quai d'Anjou, ca. 1859
Albumen print, 39.3 x 44 cm
(15 1/2 x 17 1/4 in.)
Partial gift of Mr. and Mrs. William Knight Zewadski
92.XM.51

Nègre's painterly training was evident from the beginning of his involvement with photography. In 1856 the preeminent, early photographic critic Ernest Lacan remarked that Nègre composed his photographs as though they were paintings. This handsome view of Paris and the Seine at Pont Marie is brilliantly structured by a network of interlocking triangles and trapezoids. The camera's vantage point high up on the Île Saint-Louis looks across the Seine toward the Pont Marie and the Quai des Célestins on the Right Bank. From the diverse range of elements before him, Nègre has assembled a wonderfully cohesive composition. The boathouses and barges to the lower left anchor the scene and send the eye across the water to the barges, carts, and piled-up building stones on the far river bank. The calm, reflective ambiance of the scene is nevertheless

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infused with signs that indicate the setting as a venue for transport and work.

The acquisition of this photograph expands the range of subject matter by Nègre represented in the Museum's collection. It is larger in scale than any of the other albumen prints by Nègre and the only urban view.

PROVENANCE: By descent in the Nègre family; [Alain Paviot, Paris, 1981]; [William Schaefer, Connecticut, 1981]; [Simon Lowinsky and Nancy Medwell, New York, 1985]; [Larry Walker, San Francisco, 1985]; [Simon Lowinsky and Nancy Medwell, New York, 1986]; [Daniel Wolf, New York]; William Zewadski, Tampa.

78. CHARLES NEGRE
Spartacus, Tuileries Gardens, Paris, 1859
Albumen print, 41.9 x 28.3 cm (16 1/2 x 11 1/8 in.)
92.XM.43

In 1859 Nègre made a series of studies of statues in the gardens of the Tuileries with the intention of preparing a monograph about the garden and its sculpture. He proposed to illustrate the publication with photogravures made by a process that he had invented. This image may have been printed in reverse so that a gravure plate could be made from it. The statue, *Spartacus Breaking His Chains,* was made by Denis Foyatier (1793–1863) and bought in 1830 by King Louis Philippe. It remained in the Tuileries gardens until 1877, when it was moved to the Louvre. The statue was later transferred to a provincial museum.

This depiction of the leader of a slave rebellion was thought by some to have been prophetic of the Revolution of 1848, which brought about the King's downfall. The section of the palace behind the statue was destroyed in 1870. Nègre positioned his camera near the statue's base rather than erecting a platform to bring his camera level with the sculpture, as would have been more normal at this period. The resulting upward gaze seems modern, anticipating twentieth-century photographic practice.

PROVENANCE: Nègre family, by descent; [Alain Paviot, Paris]; [Harry Lunn, Paris and New York]; [Jeffrey Fraenkel, San Francisco]; William Zewadski, Tampa.

79. HENRI-VICTOR REGNAULT (Negative)
French, 1810–1878
ALPHONSE LOUIS POITEVIN (Print)
French, 1819–1882
Sèvres: The Seine at Meudon, ca. 1853
Photomechanical print from sensitized lithographic stone, ca. 1855–60, 31.1 x 42.5 cm (12 1/4 x 16 13/16 in.)
92.XM.52

This notable carbon print by Alphonse Poitevin, made from a waxed paper negative by Henri-Victor Regnault, is the only surviving example of a collaborative work between these two artists. Poitevin, a photographer and photographic inventor, originated and patented the carbon process in 1855. This was one of the first methods of transforming a photographic image into a permanent pigmented image. He made carbon prints from his own negatives as well as those of other photographers. Regnault, a highly skilled physicist and chemist, directed the porcelain manufactory at Sèvres, where a small group of photographers emerged in the late 1840s. Regnault developed a scientific interest in photography and its practical uses, and he wholeheartedly embraced photography as a pastime and a means of personal expression. Working with the calotype, Regnault became engrossed with problems of exposure and in manipulating the light conditions of any given scene or subject.

In *Sèvres: The Seine at Meudon,* Regnault demonstrates his mastery of light. The time of day is either early or late with patches of sun bursting into the camera's view, picking out the contours of the nearest rowboat and the barrel on the river bank. The position of the camera, halfway down a grass and wildflower embankment, gives a strong geometry to the composition and encourages the eye to explore the calm and detail of the scene. This landscape is an important complement to Camille Silvy's *River Scene, France (La Vallée de l'Huisine),* which was purchased in 1990, as well as to the series of seascapes by Gustave Le Gray already in the Museum's collection. It is one of only two extant prints from the negative and is, moreover, a monument in the early history of photomechanical printmaking.

PROVENANCE: By descent in the Poitevin family; [Daniel Wolf, New York, 1983]; [Newby Toms, New York, 1987]; [Daniel Wolf, New York].

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80. ROGER FENTON
British, 1819–1869
Seated Odalisque, ca. 1858
Albumen print, 36.2 x 43.8 cm
(14 1/4 x 17 1/4 in.)
92.XM.53

In 1844–45 Fenton was a student in the Paris studio of Paul Delaroche, who was one of the first painters to admire the potential of photography for artists. Among Delaroche's other students who would continue professionally in photography were Gustave Le Gray, Charles Nègre, and Henri Le Secq. Fenton's first-hand experience with the East occurred in 1852 when he traveled to Kiev, Moscow, and Saint Petersburg. The romantic fascination with the Islamic Orient by Europeans during the first half of the nineteenth century is reflected in prints and, later, photographs of architecture, landscape, and people of the region and the introduction of Oriental motifs into works of art. On February 20, 1855, Fenton sailed on HMS *Hecla* for Balaklava, Crimea, where Russia was at war with Turkey, England, France, and Sardinia over the final disposition of the decaying Ottoman Empire. The Crimean War focused the attention of Europeans on Islamic culture and politics, resulting in a renewed wave of Orientalism in art. Soldiers returned home with handicrafts—textiles, musical instruments, and decorative objects—obtained in the bazaars of Sebastopol and Constantinople. Fenton was among those who fell in love with Islamic decorative arts, and a few years later he incorporated them into a series of photographs made in his well-lighted studio. Here Fenton posed his model, who is outfitted in the voluptuous costume of a Turkish dancer, reclining on a divan in order to recall the odalisques of old master painting. She cradles a goblet drum, her bare foot is sensuously exposed, and she gazes invitingly at the observer with the skill of a great courtesan.

This photograph was the very generous gift of Professors Joseph and Elaine Monsen to the Museum.

PROVENANCE: "The Grey Album," sale, Christie's, London (South Kensington), June 28, 1979, lot 194; [Sean Thackrey, San Francisco]; gift of Professors Joseph and Elaine Monsen, Seattle.

81

81. GEORGE ROBINSON FARDON
British, 1807–1886
Panorama of San Francisco, May 1855
Seven salt prints on one original mount, 18.3 x 131.4 cm (7 3/16 x 51 3/4 in.). Inscribed: *San Francisco/ cal./ 1855* (on label) on the recto of the mount below the image.
Partial gift of Professors Joseph and Elaine Monsen
92.XM.44

George Robinson Fardon is a major figure in the first decade of photography in California, the 1850s. After emigrating from England, in 1849 he followed gold-seekers to San Francisco, where he became a daguerreotypist and wet plate photographer. His photographs of that city are some of the earliest views of any American or European city. This year the Getty purchased a seven-part panorama of San Francisco made by Fardon in 1855. It complements other early panoramas in the collection, including those by Fenton of the Crimea; by Robertson of Constantinople; by Thomson of Hong Kong; the celebrated Gay daguerrean panorama of New London, Connecticut; and two Muybridge panoramas of San Francisco in the 1870s. Six of the seven images in the Fardon panorama, along with more than twenty others, were published in 1856 under the title *San Francisco Album: Photographs of the Most Beautiful Views and Public Buildings of San Francisco.* No indication was given, however, that some of the photographs could be joined to form a panorama.

PROVENANCE: John Swingle, Berkeley, around 1974; Joseph and Elaine Monsen, Seattle.

82. JAMES WALLACE BLACK
American, 1825–1896
Boston After the Great Fire, 1872
Three albumen prints joined to form a panorama, 26 x 99.1 cm (10 1/4 x 39 in.)
Partial gift of Professors Joseph and Elaine Monsen
92.XM.45

This three-part panorama of the Winthrop Square area in Boston offers a sweeping view of the destruction wrought by the Great Boston Fire of November 9–10, 1872. Following the Chicago Fire by almost exactly a year, flames broke out in Boston's business district on a Friday evening and burned on into the next afternoon, resulting in an unprecedented financial loss per acre. Black, whose own studio was saved when the fire stopped across the street, was a pioneer in recognizing photography's potential for recording historic events. Black also expanded the use of the medium by making the first aerial photographs in the United States in 1860 and by acting as photographer to the Bradford expedition to the Arctic in 1869. However, he is best known for his extensive series of photographs of the aftermath of the Boston fire, in which the rubble and still-smoking ruins offered viewers an immediacy not available from prints or paintings depicting the same scene. Black's use of the panorama format allows him to graphically illustrate the widespread destruction of Boston, a great city laid to waste.

PROVENANCE: [Robert Schoelkopf Gallery, New York]; Joseph Monsen, Seattle, about 1978.

CARLETON WATKINS

Carleton Watkins is considered to be the most important and accomplished American landscape photographer of the second half of the nineteenth century. Because of the length of his career, which began in the 1850s and extended through the 1890s, and the great imagination and skill he applied to making his photographs, he occupies a special place in the history of photography. He translated his perceptions into brilliantly structured photographs in which he harnessed the chaos of nature by the creation of complex compositions out of very simple motifs, which he incorporated into a seamless web of formal relationships. He is most famous for his views of Yosemite. Based in San Francisco, he also made numerous views both of that city and of Los Angeles. This year the Museum acquired a significant group of Watkins photographs, further developing what is already one of the finest and most diverse

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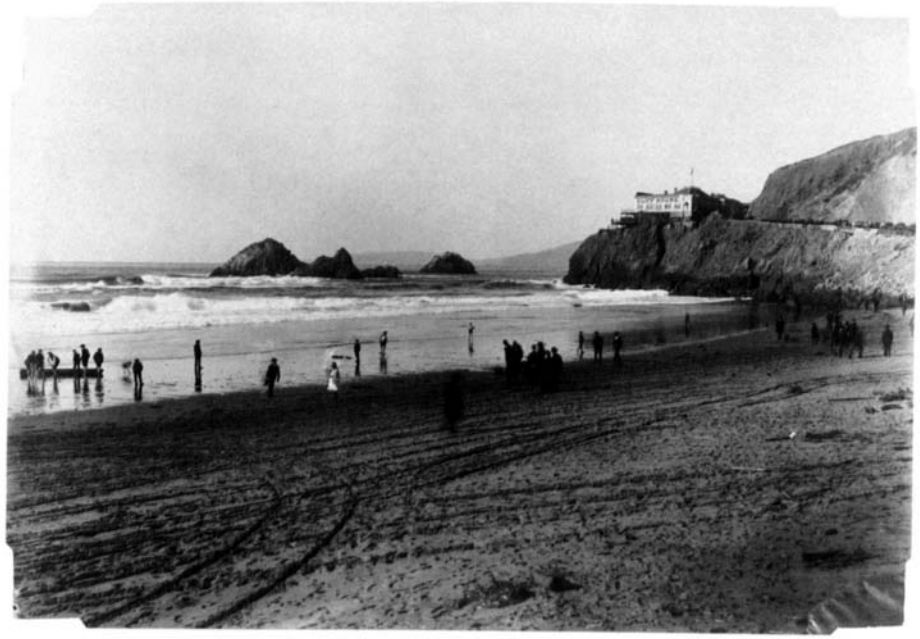
collections of his work to be found anywhere. This purchase included four mammoth plate albumen prints; six round or oval albumen prints; thirty-five albumen prints (thirty-one mounted on album leaves); five glass stereographs; and eighty-two card-mounted stereographs. Many of these works, such as the glass stereos and the round albumen prints, are extremely rare and expand the Museum's collection to include formats used by Watkins that are not currently represented.



83

83. CARLETON WATKINS
American, 1829–1916
The Cliff House, San Francisco,
ca. 1879–80
Albumen print, 36.2 x 53.3 cm (14 1/4 x 21 in.). Inscribed with a historical description of Cliff House in pencil in a recent hand on the verso of the print.
92.XM.90

Watkins often photographed the architecture and topography of San Francisco where he lived, and he operated a studio and gallery where visitors could see a permanent display of views made throughout the state. The Cliff House, which opened in 1863, was a popular San Francisco recreation spot and a favorite subject for Watkins's photographs, including several in the Getty collection. This photograph documents the original structure, which was later destroyed by fire, and its several additions. The figures strolling on Ocean Beach in the foreground make a fascinating study. Close to the center of the photograph a tiny figure stands on the wet sand with his hands on his hips. Unlike all the others he appears to be looking directly at the photographer. He is not only the pivotal center but the heartbeat of the photograph. This photograph appears to be the unique surviving print.

PROVENANCE: A descendant of Harry C. Peterson; [The Weston Gallery, Carmel]; [Fraenkel Gallery, San Francisco].

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84. CARLETON WATKINS
Cactus, Arizona Desert, April or May, 1880
Albumen print, 34.9 x 53 cm (13 3/4 x 20 7/8 in.). Inscribed: *Cactus Arizona Desert* and *1339* in pencil in the artist's hand; wet stamp: *Private Library of H. C. Peterson* [encircled], all on the verso of the print.
92.XM.96.2

In the spring of 1880 Watkins made an extended journey along the route of the Southern Pacific Railroad passing through Los Angeles, where he photographed for several days. From Southern California he traveled east to Arizona, where this image of an eccentrically shaped cactus was made. In letters to his wife from this time Watkins told of the special problems that the desert posed for photography. He complained of the heat, which restricted his work to the morning; of many days when work was impossible because the wind was blowing sand, ruining any attempt at making a wet plate negative; of his physical ailments; and of uncooperative horses that were not accustomed to the desert climate.

PROVENANCE: [The Weston Gallery, Carmel]; [Daniel Wolf, New York, 1990].

85. CARLETON WATKINS
"Agassiz" Column, Yosemite,
summer 1878
Circular albumen print, Diam: 12.5 cm (4 15/16 in.). Inscribed: *Agassiz Column Yosemite* and signed *C. E. Watkins* in pencil, all on the verso of the print.
92.XM.81.4

This is one of a group of six round prints that the Getty acquired this year. Although still grounded in the documentary tradition that Watkins had established in the 1860s, prints from this series are experiments with a new, more intimate and personal style. Watkins anticipated a major international shift in the late 1870s from a documentary sensibility to Pictorialism. His new wide-angle camera had the effect of deepening perspective and emphasizing foreground objects. This led him to choose compositions in which the foreground could be played against the background. This seemingly precarious rock was named for the distinguished American naturalist Louis Agassiz (1807–1873).

PROVENANCE: Private collection, California; [Thomas Halsted, Birmingham, Michigan].

86. CARLETON WATKINS
Down the Valley, Yosemite,
summer 1878
Circular albumen print, Diam: 12.7 cm (4 15/16 in.). Inscribed: titled and signed in pencil verso print.
92.XM.81.3

Watkins visited Yosemite regularly over a period of more than three decades, making images to sell in his San Francisco gallery. In 1878 he spent most of the summer there when he began to use a new smaller-format, wide-angle camera, trimming his final images to produce small, circular prints. This was a distinct change from his standard usage of a large-format camera that produced mammoth-size prints. The wide angle of this new camera, despite Watkins's cropping of the final small prints, enabled him to record on a single negative a much larger segment of the width of the Yosemite Valley floor than was possible with his larger camera.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, California; [Thomas Halsted, Birmingham, Michigan].

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87. CARLETON WATKINS
In the Devil's Cañon, Geysers, ca. 1867
Albumen print stereograph, 8.7 x 17.6 cm (3 3/8 x 6 15/16 in.). Imprinted with the artist's name and address, title, inventory number *2317*, and advertisement on the recto mount.
92.XC.100.32

Besides his larger-format images, by the end of his 1866 season Watkins had an inventory of about 1,400 stereographic negatives showing scenes in the West. This striking view of Devil's Canyon in Sonoma County, California, shows not only the majestic quality of the area, with its mixture of geyser spray and fog within a V-shaped fissure, but also the presence of eight people to dramatize the scope and depth of the natural surroundings.

PROVENANCE: Louis H. Smaus, Atherton, to Robert Smaus, Los Angeles, by descent; [Daniel Wolf, New York].

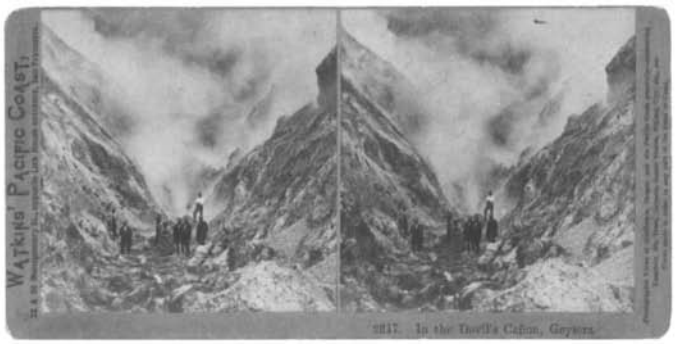
88. CARLETON WATKINS
Residence of Mark Hopkins, Esquire, California Street, San Francisco,
ca. 1876
Albumen print stereograph, 8.7 x 17.6 cm (3 3/8 x 6 15/16 in.). Imprinted with the artist's name and address, title, inventory number *3704*, and advertisement on the recto mount.
92.XC.100.63

After his apprenticeship in the daguerreotype studio of Robert Vance about 1854 in San Francisco, Watkins established his own studio there in 1861. He knew the city well and photographed many areas of it. Mark Hopkins was one of the four principal builders and financiers of the Central Pacific Railroad, along with Charles Crocker, Leland Stanford, and Collis P. Huntington. Hopkins's grand mansion atop Nob Hill was a prominent architectural landmark. Watkins captured the full scale of the building's exuberant architecture, documenting the taste of the gilded age.

PROVENANCE: Louis H. Smaus, Atherton, to Robert Smaus, Los Angeles, by descent; [Daniel Wolf, New York].

89. CARLETON WATKINS
Palace Hotel, San Francisco. Interior View, 1876
Albumen stereograph, 8.7 x 17.6 cm (3 3/8 x 6 15/16 in.). Imprinted with the artist's name and address, title, inventory number *3561*, and advertisement on the recto mount.
92.XC.100.66

The Palace, long San Francisco's most luxurious hotel, was a temporary home to kings, royalty, and presidents (Warren G. Harding died in the presidential suite in 1923) as well as writers (Oscar Wilde created a scandal there) and singers (Enrico Caruso ran out of the hotel wearing a towel during the 1906 earthquake).



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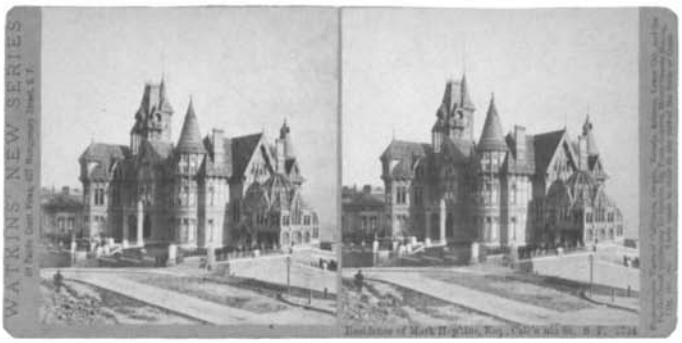

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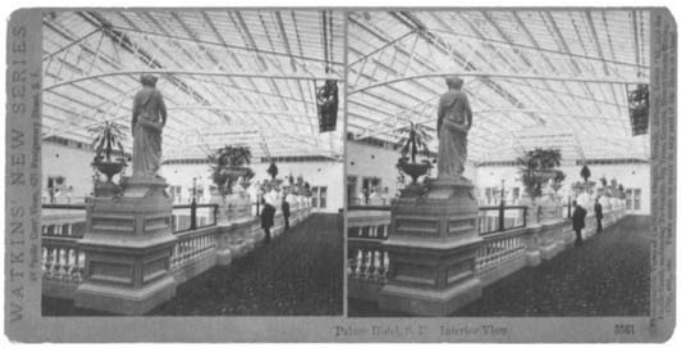

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In this view Watkins depicts the top floor of the hotel, with its skylight grid of metal and glass, and the decorated balustrade that overlooked the carriage turnaround on the ground floor six stories below.

PROVENANCE: Louis H. Smaus, Atherton, to Robert Smaus, Los Angeles, by descent; [Daniel Wolf, New York].

90. CARLETON WATKINS
Rooster Rock—Columbia River, 1883
One of three albumen prints mounted on an album leaf, 12.1 x 20.5 cm (4 3/4 x 8 1/16 in.). Inscribed with title in ink by an unknown hand under the image.
92.XM.99.8

This print is of particular interest in that it shows Watkins's mobile photographic studio attached to a boxcar in the foreground. Because of his friendship with the railroad baron Collis Huntington Watkins was given free transit by rail for himself and the van, making it possible to move great distances easily and still have mobility once he had arrived. The mobile studio allowed Watkins to sensitize his large glass plates on the spot, then quickly develop them afterward. The image is also known as *Watkins's Traveling Wagon on the Train, Oregon.*

The name of the San Francisco-based publisher W. H. Lawrence appears with Watkins's name on the side of the van, documenting a business relationship of which few details are known. Lawrence was the first successful publisher of photographs in California and helped Watkins and others distribute their work to the East Coast and Europe.

PROVENANCE: Hilda Bohem, Los Angeles; [Daniel Wolf, New York].

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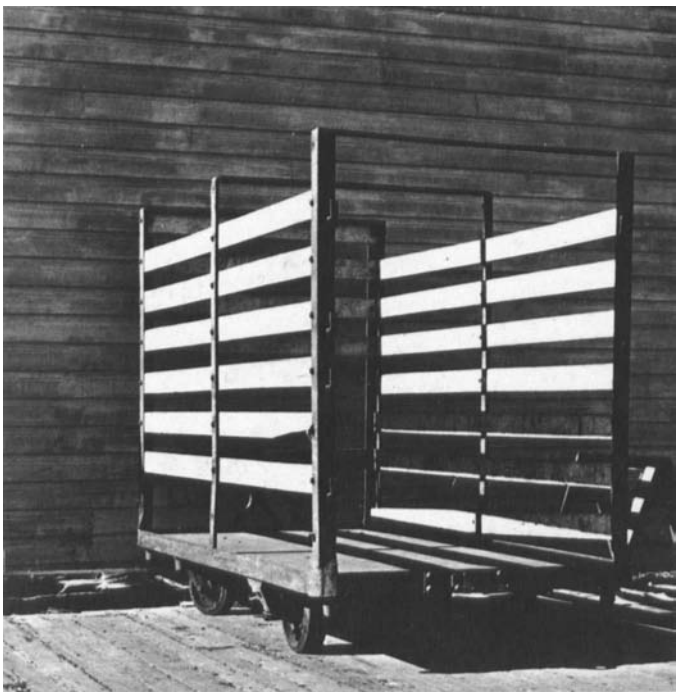
91. CROSS STUDIO
American, active 1920s
Aerial View Across the Palisades, Brentwood, West Los Angeles, Toward the Downtown Area, ca. 1925
Two gelatin silver prints joined to form a panorama, 31.8 x 86.5 cm (12 1/2 x 34 in.)
92.XM.49.11

In 1992 the Department of Photographs received as a welcome gift from Frederick P. and Linda J. Lee a group of twenty-one aerial panoramic photographs of the Pacific Palisades and Santa Monica made between 1912 and 1950. The photographs were commissioned by one of the pioneer real estate developers of this area, from whom Mr. Lee is descended. In this two-part panorama of the coastline, which includes the site of the Museum Villa, a wing of the airplane from which the photograph was taken is visible on the far right. As a set the photographs comprise an intermittent history of the growth of the area near the Getty Museum and a study of the overall development of the far west side of Los Angeles.



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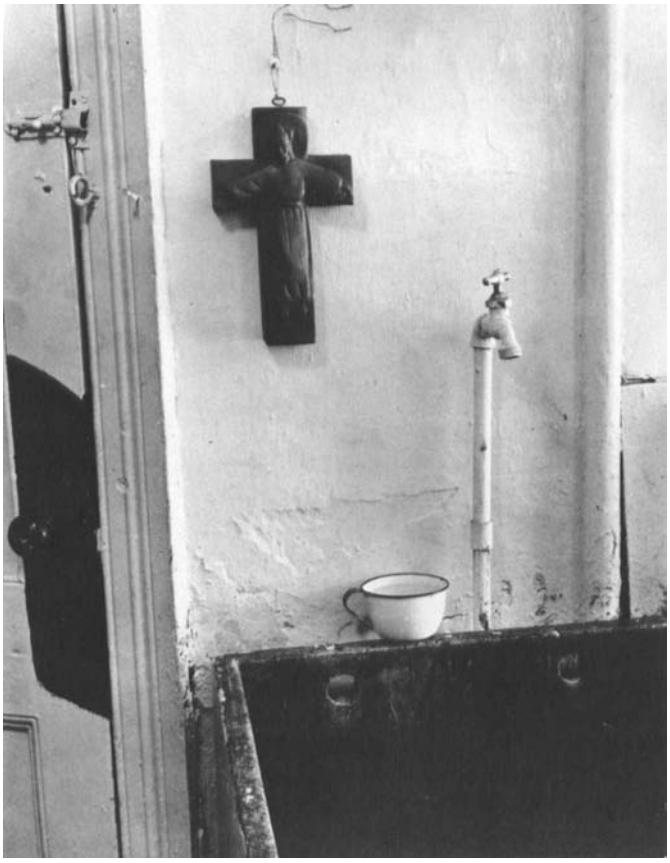
AARON SISKIND

Aaron Siskind, an exact contemporary of Walker Evans, was one of the most influential American photographers of the twentieth century. Beginning in the early years of Abstract Expressionist painting, he achieved great success in creating nonobjective photographic images. He then founded a new movement in photography that took off in the sixties with his students at the Institute of Design in Chicago. In 1992 the Department of Photographs acquired thirteen prints dating from the early 1930s to 1950 to supplement its already substantial holdings of 124 Siskind images. Very fine prints from Siskind's negatives of the thirties and forties are rarely on the market.

92. AARON SISKIND
American, 1903–1991
Untitled (Wagon), ca. 1930s
Gelatin silver print on original mount, 11 x 11 cm (4 3/8 x 4 3/8 in.)
92.XM.76.1

This composition with a slatted wagon appears to be a unique print from one of Siskind's first serious photographic efforts. After college he began teaching English in New York's public school system and tried to write poetry when not in the classroom. He started to make snapshots in the early thirties and by the end of the decade photography rather than poetry was his creative medium. His very first attempts with the camera include tree trunks, grain elevators, massive boulders, and tenement walls. His urge to isolate and simplify the mundane might be called Constructivist or Precisionist, but it may also be termed poetic. This empty, but very functional, wagon seems to be the perfect vehicle for Siskind's initial need to present abstracted reality. The wooden slats create linear as well as tonal patterns on the surface of the print and, although depth is suggested by the wagon's form, Siskind's determination to "see" in two dimensions rather than three is already evident.

PROVENANCE: The Aaron Siskind estate; [Robert Mann Gallery, New York].



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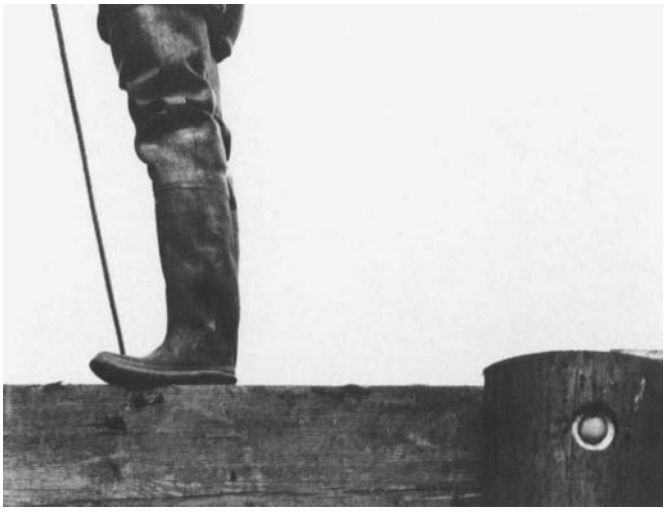
93. AARON SISKIND
Saint Joseph's House, ca. 1939
From "The Catholic Workers Movement" series
Gelatin silver print on original mount, 21.5 x 17 cm (8 15/32 x 6 11/16 in.)
92.XM.76.3

During his association with the New York Photo League between 1933 and 1941, Siskind contributed to a number of documentary projects, including "Harlem Document" and "The Catholic Workers Movement." The austere lifestyle of the Catholic workers residing at the tenement building called Saint Joseph's House struck Siskind as a real commitment to the tenets of fundamentalist communism. The residents spent their time defending organized labor, feeding the needy, and promoting the idea of pacifism. The photographers' response to this genuinely religious habitat was to record images that illustrated biblical passages. This simple composition dominated by a wooden crucifix was meant to refer to Matthew: "and whosoever shall give to drink unto one of these little ones a cup of cold water." Very few people appear in Siskind's pictures for "The Catholic Workers Movement" series, which was unusual in the work produced by Photo League members. The sparse decoration of the workers' tenement seems to have inspired Siskind to concentrate instead on the geometry of the built environment, as he had done in response to Cottage (or "Tabernacle") City, a Methodist retreat on Martha's Vineyard that he had been exploring since 1935.

PROVENANCE: The Aaron Siskind estate; [Robert Mann Gallery, New York].

94. AARON SISKIND
Martha's Vineyard, 1941–42
Gelatin silver print, 9 x 12 cm (3 9/16 x 4 23/32 in.). Dated, signed, and stamped on the verso of the original mount.
92.XM.76.4

The abstract aesthetic that was to be Siskind's trademark surfaced in some of his first work only to be somewhat submerged by the social documentary images of the Photo League projects. In 1940–42 it resurfaced in images that exhibit a limited number of pictorial elements poised between being recognizable and being subsumed in a stark, formalized composition, such as this one made on Cape Cod. While he worked to finish his Cottage City project for exhibition at the Photo League the next year, Siskind also devoted part of the summer of 1940 to creating pictures that could be called still lifes and were very consciously different from the New York documents assembled by the League. At Chilmark and perhaps elsewhere on Martha's Vineyard he used his camera for five by seven negatives and the incidental objects one would expect to find on a deck or pier or



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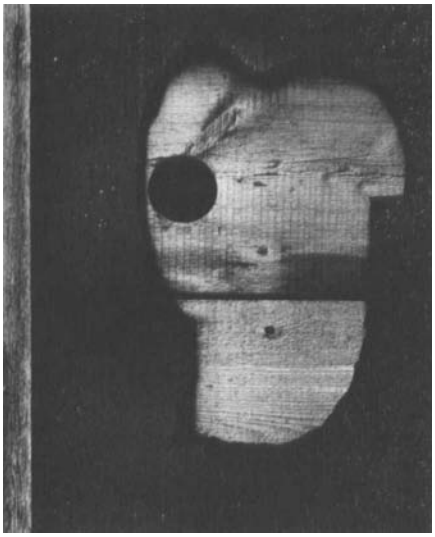
washed up on the beach to create a distinctive, well-arranged universe that was contained within the four edges of a photograph. The construction of form rather than the representation of reality was now his goal; he returned to the island each summer to pursue it. Here the soft rubber fisherman's boot and the hard edge of the pier suggest a specific place and vocation, but the photograph succeeds because it has been carefully composed of "found" forms that now read simply as dynamic and passive lines. Siskind's final image, reflective of his mood at the time, becomes an object for meditation rather than a bit of hard evidence or a revealing portrait.

PROVENANCE: The Aaron Siskind estate; [Robert Mann Gallery, New York].



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95. AARON SISKIND
Gloucester 16A, 1944
Gelatin silver print, 31.3 x 25.3 cm (12 11/32 x 9 15/16 in.). Signed, titled, and dated on recto and verso.
92.XM.109.1

One of the boldest of Siskind's Gloucester abstractions, this picture was later described by the artist in the 1954 article "This is My Best" as "the blank eye, the hard profile, in a time of violence." An anthropomorphic image, it embodies Siskind's awareness of the war abroad and demonstrates the potential expressiveness of non-objective photography. Formally, the active flux between dark and light and negative and positive shapes and the varied surface of the subject anticipate the concerns of the Abstract Expressionist painters, several of whom were Greenwich Village acquaintances of the photographer. An apparent favorite of both the photographer and his supporters, *Gloucester 16A* was chosen as the announcement image for his spring 1947 exhibition at the Egan Gallery in New York. That show traveled west to San Francisco (the California Palace of the Legion of Honor) and Santa Barbara (the Santa Barbara Museum of Art). Thus it is especially appropriate that after forty-five years the picture should become a permanent part of a California collection.

PROVENANCE: Denny Moers, Providence, Rhode Island.

96. PAUL STRAND
American, 1890–1976
Archina McRury, South Uist, Outer Hebrides, 1954
Gelatin silver print, 20.9 x 19.3 cm (8 1/4 x 7 5/8 in.). Signed in black ink on the verso.
92.XM.46.1

The work of Paul Strand's mid-career period consists of photographic projects carried out in Mexico, New England, Luzzara, and the site represented by this image, South Uist in the Outer Hebrides. In 1954 Strand's continued quest for remote rural populations took him to these islands off the northwest coast of Scotland. Once there the isolation of the island of South Uist and the insular nature of its inhabitants compelled Strand to address the relationship between man and his environment more thoroughly than he had done before. He lived for three months with these proud, Gaelic-speaking people, whose struggles appealed to his social conscience. In the nineteenth century, absentee landowners expelled many of the island's residents through the "clearances" that were intended to create more grazing land for sheep and deer. Strand admired the tenacity of those families that stayed on as tenant farmers despite the hardships.

The book *Tir a' Mhurain* (Land of Bent Grass, after the traditional Gaelic name for South Uist), published in 1962, contains a selection of 145 photographs from Strand's time in the Hebrides. It is introduced by a portrait of Murdoch

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McRury, who might well be young Archina's grandfather, and an image of a Mrs. Mary McRury (pl. 98), who appears to be seated beside the same window seen at the upper left in Archina's portrait. Surprisingly, Strand chose another, less animated picture of Archina for the book. In plate 129 she is shown from a greater distance in a rather stiff pose, no doubt gazing obediently at one of her elders stationed off-camera on her right.

PROVENANCE: Gift of Walter and Naomi Rosenblum.

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97. EDWARD WESTON
American, 1886–1958
Armco, Middletown, Ohio, 1954
Print by Brett Weston (American, 1911–1993) from a 1941 negative, 20.3 x 25.2 cm (8 x 9 15/16 in.). Wet stamp: *The Estate of Edward Weston* on the verso of the print; inscribed: *2102* (edn. no.) in pencil on the verso of the print.
92.XM.40.5

Edward Weston made about a half dozen photographs at the Armco plant (American Rolling Mills Company) in Middletown, Ohio, while visiting his sister May and her family in 1922. In his daybooks, Weston expressed his sense of the importance of this work, and indeed the series marks his abandonment of Pictorialism and his conversion to a leaner and more personal style. Weston returned to the same subject in 1941, as part of a commission to illustrate a special edition of Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass.* The print was made under Weston's supervision toward the end of his life by his son, the photographer Brett Weston.

PROVENANCE: Gift of Jon B. Lovelace.

MANUEL ALVAREZ BRAVO

In 1992 the Department of Photographs acquired a group of fifty-three photographs by Manuel Alvarez Bravo. The most prominent Latin American photographer of the twentieth century, Alvarez Bravo ranks in importance with Brassai, Abbott, and Cartier-Bresson. This collection was formed in the late 1940s by Lester Bridaham, a magazine editor, shortly after graduating from Paul Sachs's celebrated course in connoisseurship at Harvard. The photographs date from 1927 until 1943. Among them are a number of Alvarez Bravo's most celebrated images as well as a few that are believed to be the only prints ever made from the negatives. In addition to this important collection of Alvarez Bravo's work a second smaller group of eight photographs was also acquired that includes more recent work.

98. MANUEL ALVAREZ BRAVO
Mexican, born 1902
The Daydream, 1931
Gelatin silver print, 22 x 14.2 cm
(8 5/8 x 5 5/8 in.)
92.XM.23.11

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As Alvarez Bravo recounted, he was reading in the hallway of the building in central Mexico City, where he then lived, when he observed a girl leaning on a nearby railing. The dramatic light that fell on her was so arresting that he raced for his camera. When he returned, the girl was still balanced in the same position, light touching only her right shoulder, recalling painting of the Spanish Baroque period. The girl remained suspended in a timeless reverie. Urban life in his natal city has been a consistent subject for Alvarez Bravo, but he has imbued the everyday scenes he chooses with symbolic resonances.

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99. MANUEL ALVAREZ BRAVO
Pierced Grave, 1933
Gelatin silver print, 19.4 x 22.9 cm
(7 5/8 x 9 in.)
92.XM.23.22

In a local cemetery the photographer found a wooden cross that passes through a whirlpool-like wreath of plants to pierce the ground covering a grave. The tight framing of the image creates an effect of circular motion, emphasizing the underlying idea of the composition, the mutability of all things. The mythology of Mexico has always rested on an acute awareness of the presence of death, and it is frequently an implied part of Alvarez Bravo's work. The decontextualization of the cross and flowers in *Pierced Grave* makes the picture similar to some of the work being done by the Surrealists in Europe during this period.

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100. MANUEL ALVAREZ BRAVO
Public Thirst, 1933
Gelatin silver print, 24.1 x 19.1 cm
(9 1/2 x 7 1/2 in.)
92.XM.23.24

The photograph is evidence of Alvarez Bravo's genius for choosing the perfect moment to make an exposure. The result of his acute timing is an image with glowing patches of light emerging from intense grays and blacks to form a lively image of the Mexico of the 1930s. The title of the image may also be an oblique reference to Mayan religious practices. Young boys were publicly sacrificed to Tlaloc, the god of rain, in the belief that this would produce the moisture that was necessary to grow crops and slake the public thirst.

101. MANUEL ALVAREZ BRAVO
Striking Worker Murdered, 1934
Gelatin silver print, 19 x 24.1 cm
(7 1/2 x 9 1/2 in.)
92.XM.23.27

André Breton wrote in 1939 about Alvarez Bravo, "The great surges of his inspiration are furthered by his highly developed sense of quality as well as by his infallible technique. In his *Striking Worker Murdered* Manuel Alvarez Bravo rises to what Baudelaire called 'the eternal style.'" Breton's enthusiasm is an example of the strong reactions produced in viewers of this image of graphic violence. Others have read the picture as a political statement, an interpretation that the photographer resists, perhaps as a repudiation of beliefs now changed or as an unwillingness to fix a single meaning or ideology to the image. Alvarez Bravo has often juxtaposed this photograph with that of the young boy drinking at a public fountain, contrasting innocent life and violent death.

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102. MANUEL ALVAREZ BRAVO
The Crouched Ones, 1934
Gelatin silver print, 17.7 x 23.8 cm
(7 x 9 3/8 in.)
92.XM.23.28

Bravo's distance from the established art centers of the world allowed his work to develop in an intensely personal way that expresses the essence of Mexican life and culture. The way that this image captures the textures of everyday life is comparable to the work of the painter Edward Hopper. The framing of the image concentrates its visual power. A strong horizontal cuts across the black and gray of the men's bodies to form a sort of viewfinder through which we can peer, crouching to see the crouched ones. Their apparent individual isolation is broken by the chain that links the stools on which they sit.

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103. MANUEL ALVAREZ BRAVO
Portrait of the Eternal, 1935
Gelatin silver print, 16.8 x 24.1 cm
(6 5/8 x 9 1/2 in.)
92.XM.23.30

The photographer has transformed the ordinary act of a woman combing her hair in front of a mirror into an invitation to the viewer to enter into an intimate moment in the life of the model, Isabel Villaseñor, and to consider that moment as a reflection of eternity. In this example of the dramatic light that characterizes much of Alvarez Bravo's work, the model is caught between light and profound darkness. Although the titles of his photographs are often enigmatic, with patience they can be deciphered to yield his thoughts about the meaning of the images.

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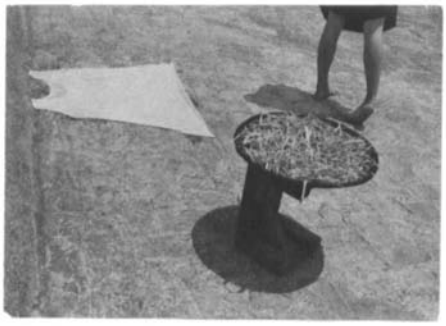
104. MANUEL ALVAREZ BRAVO
The Good Reputation for Cover, 1939
Three gelatin silver prints, each
8.8 x 18.9 cm (3 1/2 x 7 7/16 in.)
92.XM.23.37

Alvarez Bravo created this unique tripartite format for this image to serve as the cover for a catalogue of a Surrealist exhibition organized by André Breton, Wolfgang Paalen, and César Moro in Mexico City. As he has told the story, in response to a request for a cover image telephoned to the San Carlos Academy where he then taught, he sent a model to the roof of the Academy, sent the porter to the market to buy the cacti that surround her, and called a doctor friend for the bandages in which she is swathed. Having assembled these elements, he photographed the model on a borrowed blanket, producing an image of inherent contradictions—the soft flesh juxtaposed with the thorny cactus, the model's nudity partially covered but also vulnerably (and somewhat perversely) uncovered. In the event, this tripartite image was not used as a cover because of fear of censorship, but it has become one of the photographer's most celebrated pictures because of its mysterious and dreamlike qualities.

105. MANUEL ALVAREZ BRAVO
Somewhat Gay and Graceful, 1942
Gelatin silver print, 17.3 x 24.3 cm
(6 13/16 x 9 9/16 in.)
92.XM.23.46

With a great economy of means Alvarez Bravo has structured this austere composition. Despite its simple elements it has great visual richness. The ingredients are a griddle with shredded, drying tortillas; a camisole; a pair of legs in motion; the whitewashed roof against which the first three are seen; and, most important, the adroit camera angle chosen by the photographer. The apparent ordinariness of the material is typical of the photographer's work, as is his transformation of it.



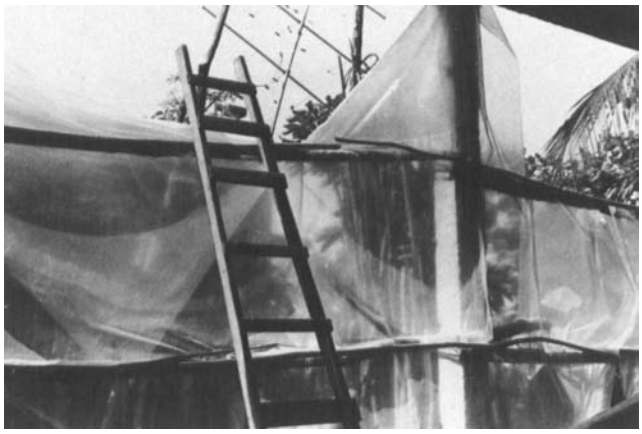
105

106. MANUEL ALVAREZ BRAVO
Ladders on the Fishermen's Beach, 1989
Three gelatin silver prints (printed by Colette Alvarez Urbajtel), each 20.4 x 25.4 cm (8 x 10 in.)
92.XM.104.1–.3

By obscuring and twisting the vantage points of this unusual site Alvarez Bravo evoked the sensibilities of the Surrealist movement, which had influenced him in his youth. Compared with the single, static viewpoint of *The Good Reputation for Cover,* his only other triptych, this composition conveys a sense of movement. Alvarez Bravo's lifelong interest in using light and shade to create abstract patterns is evident. It is possible to think that the ladder leading into air in the right panel may be linked to the elderly artist's thoughts about mortality.

106 (.1)

106 (.2)



106 (.3)

IN APPRECIATION

In addition to the gifts described above, the Department of Photographs is happy to acknowledge receipt of the following donations: a 1945 portrait by Paul Strand from Naomi and Walter Rosenblum; a group of color laser prints by David Hockney from the artist; eight additional images by Edward Weston (printed by Brett Weston) from Jon B. Lovelace; a group of nine contemporary photographs, mostly of the new American topography, from Professors Joseph and Elaine Monsen; and a group of twenty-one nineteenth-century cabinet cards, stereo views, and album pages from Gene Waddell.

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